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ABSTRACT

This volume contains reactions to the career education concept as proposed by the U.S. Office of Education from a panel of 23 educators, practitioners, businessmen, and students representing such disciplines as anthropology, law, political science, sociology, mathematics, vocational education, psychology, philosophy, and counseling. The Foreword is written by Sidney P. Marland, Jr. Section 1, Laying a Foundation, contains essays dealing with cultural aspects of career education, philosophy, improvement of guidance services, and provision of career education opportunities for women. Section 2, Building a Framework, contains essays concerned with who shall teach career education, career development, dropout prevention, curriculum development, manpower programs, and the role of community and four-year colleges. Section 3, Satisfying the Consumers' Needs, contains essays dealing with problems faced by high school graduates, the commitment of education to society, career education needs of black students, utilizing community resources, and designing career education programs to meet the needs of consumers. Section 4, Redesigning the System, includes essays concerned with pathologies of work, need for competency-based credentialism, accountability and humanism, eliminating barriers separating vocational education from academic subjects, and research needs. (SB)

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ESSAYS ON CAREER EDUCATION

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foreword by SIDNEY P. MARLAND, JR.

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A Comment by Edward Zigler . . .

The Career Education concept has great potential for filling a gap in the lives of children and youth. Children have become isolated from the adult world of work. Few children have any real awareness of what their parents do on the job, and the schools have done little to ensure that children see adults—other than their teachers—working at a variety of tasks. Older children have few opportunities to participate in adult work activities or responsibilities and to be paid for their labor. The consequence of our segregation of children from the adult world is simply that all children are to some extent deprived of the range of experiences they need to build an adult identity and a positive attitude toward work and independence.

Another serious result of this isolation is that children encounter a rather narrow set of adult values. Formal schooling for white-collar occupations is presented as the goal for which every student should strive. We certainly must continue our efforts to make sure that every child has the opportunity to receive formal education to the limit of his interests and aspirations. However, we must also convey to young people that skilled and semi-skilled labor and other occupations that do not require a college education are *not* second-rate jobs for second-rate people. These are jobs worth doing, and worth doing well; they can be deeply satisfying to an individual who, because of his unique interests or abilities, does not find fulfillment in extended formal schooling. Young people will not have the freedom to choose such occupations as long as the adult members of society send the message that some careers are not as intrinsically worthy of aspiration as others. I believe that the Career Education effort can do much to overcome this barrier to genuine freedom of occupational choice for our youth.

Edward Zigler is professor of Psychology and Director of the Child Development Program, Yale University. Dr. Zigler is former Director of the Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

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FOREWORD BY
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Sidney P. Marland, Jr., is the first Assistant Secretary for Education to be appointed under the provisions of the Education Amendments of 1972, which established the Education Division of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was nominated by President Nixon on August 3, 1972, confirmed by the U.S. Senate on October 14, and sworn in on November 1, 1972.

The Education Division includes the Office of Education and the National Institute of Education, which was also established by the Amendments.

Dr. Marland served as U.S. Commissioner of Education from December 17, 1970 until he became Assistant Secretary. His career in education also includes experience as a teacher and more than 20 years as a school administrator. He was superintendent of schools in Darien, Conn., from 1948 to 1956, then in Winnetka, Ill., until 1963 and in Pittsburgh, Pa., until 1968. He was President of the Institute of Educational Development, a nonprofit educational research and development organization in New York City, from 1968 until he became Commissioner.

Foreword

Sidney P. Marland, Jr.

The term Career Education has begun during the past 2 years to take on familiar usage. But the principles and concepts underlying Career Education are not new.

Broadly stated, Career Education seeks to remove the assumed distinctions between academic and occupational learning programs, blending them to serve all learners at all levels of instruction in their quest for productive careers and rewarding lives. Certainly we can trace a genealogy of the idea back to James Russell in 1909. John Dewey also contributed to the concept early in this century. Later, equally eminent educational theorists have given prominence to the idea, without necessarily using the term. Alfred North Whitehead stated in 1929 in *The Aims of Education:*

> The anti-thesis between a technical and a liberal education is fallacious. There can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal, and no liberal education which is not technical. . . . Education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well, and something he can do well.

When James Conant undertook his respected investigation and analysis of American education in the 1960's, he gave even more explicit support to the proposition that underlies today's Career Education message. Conant's credentials as former Harvard president and author of *General Education in a Free Society* give particular meaning to the following quotation from his book, *Slums and Suburbs:*

> I must record an educational heresy, or rather support a proposition that many will find self-evident, but that some professors of the liberal arts will denounce as dangerously heretical. I submit that in a heavily urbanized and industrialized free society the education experiences of youth should fit his subsequent employment. There should be a smooth transition from full-time schooling to a full-time job, whether that transition be after grade ten, or after graduation from high school, college, or university.

During the early months of 1971, as a newly named U.S. Commissioner of Education, I sought within our leadership in the Office of Education, and among educational leaders generally, a design for establishing a new base for learning—giving centrality to the idea that had been bobbing around in American education for so long. Arduous staff study, engaging key thinkers and planners from the Office of Education, gave the proposition rudimentary substance.

I presented the general outlines of a national Career Education theme before the annual meeting of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in Houston that winter. It seemed to find favor. The following spring, again accompanied by discerning debate, the Council of Chief State School Officers endorsed the concept.

There seemed to prevail among lay, education, and business leaders a sense of "an idea whose time had come." The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and, with some qualifications, the educational leadership of AFL-CIO gave their endorsement. Leaders in Congress at this time were compatibly forging the broad legislation that was to become The Occupational and Adult Education Act of 1972, carrying the sweeping principles of Career Education.

There were reasons for "the-time-has-come" rationale. At the risk of oversimplification:

- The schools and colleges of America had felt a steadily increasing spirit of malaise among students searching for a purpose.
- Taxpayers were no longer willing to put their trust blindly in education; fewer than half the school finance referenda were passing.
- President Nixon had, in 1970, asked for broad reform in education, calling a halt to more Federal money for more-of-the-same.
- After 5 years of Federal investment in compensatory education, the formula for improving the quality of education for the disadvantaged continued to elude us.
- Fully a third of the high school students (more in the big cities) were enrolled in the general curriculum, leading neither to college nor an occupation.
- Many young people were entering college without a goal or purpose beyond the acceptance of the social dictum that declared college to be a good thing, and therefore a good thing for everybody—a value system seemingly reinforced by parents, counselors, and teachers.
- Intellectual snobbery sustained the age-old stereotype that declared traditional vocational education in secondary school to be "fine for someone else's children."
- Unemployment was dangerously high, while technically oriented jobs were unfilled.
- The American people—employers, parents, labor organizations, and especially students—were expecting more from education than they were getting without necessarily voicing the precise terms of their discontent. As Walt Whitman stated the proposition:

> Now understand me well—It is provided in the essence of things,
> that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come
> forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

These were the forces that seemed to shape the need for a major purposeful reform in education in the early 1970's. Yet there were, properly, those who questioned the idea. Were we bent upon an anti-intellectual azimuth that would deny the historic meaning of the liberal arts? Were we so preoccupied with occupational fulfillment that we endangered the ultimate educational ideal of personal, social, emotional, and humanistic fulfillment? Were we thoughtlessly extolling the virtues of technical education (such as in community colleges) to the corresponding implied disparagement of the liberal arts institutions? Were we seeking to track minority students into "blue collar" jobs just at the time when the college doors were being opened wider? Were we accentuating the "work ethic" at a time when some young people believed they had found a nobler motivation than economic gain?

While those of us in the Office of Education believed we had reasonable answers to these questions, we felt the issues being raised were sufficiently fundamental to warrant external examination. Thus it came about that roughly a year after the idea had been launched, we assembled a *panel of critics*. Consciously selected for their reputations as objective scholars or practitioners, as well as their credentials, which disallowed any known prejudices about Career Education, we asked some 20 individuals to come to Washington. We asked them to read all that we had said and written about Career Education over the preceding year and to turn their specific talents and disciplines to a careful scrutiny of the proposition as it was emerging.

It is important to note here that we had declined, and to this date continue to decline, to lay out a concrete Federal definition of Career Education. We have chosen to shun a Federal "approved solution," believing that if the notion has merit, it must be defined within general parameters jointly developed by the teachers, counselors, board of education members, college faculties, superintendents, and deans, and the constituencies of parents and students whom we serve. Some observers find this frustrating and even, perhaps, irresponsible.

The *panel* assembled and heard us, read our works, viewed our halting starts, asked us tough questions, and returned to their familiar and several environments to think about the idea. Then at our invitation they wrote about the idea. A few other scholars were subsequently asked to add their thoughts to those of the original critics. Their essays were assembled by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, under contract with us, and are published here.

Together, the essayists give the Career Education notion the clothing of their varied disciplines–anthropology, law, political science, sociology, mathematics, vocational education, psychology, philosophy, business, labor, counseling, and other dimensions. It is too large an idea in its ultimate potential to be neatly catalogued, defined, and prescribed. It remains a property of research and development, engaging all levels of government in its further unfolding.

However, with the limited Federal resources available, some promising starts have been made. We reoriented the Office of Education's research and development programs in 1971 to focus on planning and designing alternate approaches to elementary and secondary schooling. Four models of Career Education were proposed for study and articulation: (1) a school-based model to infuse the kindergarten through 14th-grade curriculum and related programs with a Career Education thrust; (2) an employer-based model to give secondary-level students a comprehensive alternative to the traditional academic environment; (3) a home/community-based model to offer career-oriented resources to out-of-school youth and adults who are not participating in regular school programs or who want additional learning opportunities; and (4) a residential-based model designed to provide a variety of life skills for disadvantaged rural families.

Approximately $42.1 million in Federal funds were allocated to research and development in Career Education in fiscal 1972. Each State, with financial support under the Vocational Education Act (Parts C and D), agreed to launch experimental and demonstration projects, within broad Office of Education criteria, starting in the fall of 1971. Some 700,000 young people were affected by these State programs during 1971-72, giving a preliminary test to Career Education's goals. In addition, countless local districts, with or without Federal funding, have begun to hammer out their own curriculum reform using the career development theme.

Early in 1972, concurrently with the activation of the *panel of critics*, I asked Peter Muirhead, the Executive Deputy Commissioner of Education, to chair a task force on Career Education, and to marshall the full resources of the Office of Education and emerging National Institute of Education (NIE). (Clearly, the NIE had an essential function here, even though still not formally established in law.) The task force included all the deputy commissioners and their program planners and managers of many areas—elementary, secondary, postsecondary, handicapped, gifted, vocational education, adult education, technology, research, planning and evaluation. The task force itself decided to emphasize four central functions: to develop a clear conceptualization (avoiding detailed directives) of Career Education to guide all activities of the Office of Education; to propose a comprehensive research and development strategy; to plan the difficult task of implementation by State and local agencies at *their* initiative; and to develop the essential capacity to plan, budget, and manage the Career Education effort.

Thus, the largest single initiative toward educational change at this time is slowly taking shape. If it is to be truly effective, it must not be a Federal program; it must be a self-determining reform by local school systems, encouraged and assisted by State leadership. It may well have distinctive variations in different settings.

Since I have lived very closely with the Career Education idea for some time, including several years before coming to Washington, I am possibly guilty of tunnel vision on the subject. Therefore, I turn to Dr. Keith Goldhammer, the Dean of the School of Education at Michigan State University (formerly Dean of the School of Education at Oregon State University), a respected observer of the educational scene in America, for a closing comment:

> It is argued . . . that Career Education constitutes a new, vitalizing thrust in education. There are, of course, those who will say that it is just another passing fancy and if we don't pay too much attention to it, it will go away and leave us undisturbed. The evidence mounts daily that this is not the general reaction. The increasing public and legislative reaction to Career Education is one of hope that a new paradigm for educational operations has finally been found which will not only provide a basic social return consistent with the anticipated human and financial inputs, but a relevance for youth which will help them find their social identifications and secure a sense of mission and destiny as participating members of society. . . .

It is in this context that the *panel of critics* has examined Career Education. Each essayist has brought his or her own intellectual discipline and experience to the task, affording those of us in the Education Division and in the total educational community an array of objective judgments.

This volume is offered to all who care very much about the condition of education in America, and who want to share in its continued improvement.

Laying a Foundation

1

James P. Spradley is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn. He is the author of *You Owe Yourself a Drunk: An Ethnography of Urban Nomads*, as well as other books and articles in urban anthropology.

The problem of educating children in all societies to assume adult responsibilities is featured in Dr. Spradley's discussion of Career Education. He draws comparisons between American society and other cultures where survival skills such as hunting and farming are passed from generation to generation. Dr. Spradley views Career Education as a "cultural innovation" which can ease the transition from childhood to the adult world of work. He discusses how to plan Career Education carefully to meet a variety of needs for students at every step on the educational ladder.

Career Education in Cultural Perspective

James P. Spradley

In the far North an Eskimo boy watches his father fashion the tip of a fishing spear from the rib bone of a seal. Later, the boy will accompany his father in a small kayak to help in their daily search for food.

On the coast of New Guinea a recently weaned Wogeo child is given a small garden for her own yams and taro. Her older sister already has learned to use the digging stick for gathering yams; she works beside her mother for short periods putting them in a net bag.

In British Columbia a Kwakiutl boy stands with his father in the wheelhouse of a seine boat. The boy watches for small jumping fish, a signal that a school of salmon is nearby. When the full net is pulled to the deck, he will share in the satisfied feelings of the adult crew.

Each of these children is learning the values, attitudes, and skills that constitute the world of work in his or her society. Each one is involved in Career Education.

The teaching and learning processes of education, and Career Education in particular, are generic features of every human culture. In the dim past, when our survival depended primarily on specific biological characteristics, our ancestors required little education. The long process of evolution changed that situation, and for more than 2 million years mankind has adapted by learning a specific cultural tradition. Human survival now requires every man and woman to learn a culture and to get an education.

Anthropologists, who describe and explain the world's many cultures, have been concerned with the entire range of educational systems mankind has fashioned. To the anthropologist, all normal adults are educated persons.

One cross-cultural variation in the patterns of education is their content. Every ethnographic description of an alien culture is necessarily a description of educational content. When anthropologists describe another culture, they are actually recording what children must learn if they are to grow up into an Eskimo, Kwakiutl, or Wogeo adult. All will learn a language, but their respective grammars will be different. All will take informal courses in family life, but the kinds of families and the ways they're organized will vary. All will be educated in the political life of their societies, but authority, power, and leadership will differ. All will acquire skills for productive work, but these will span a vast range of human occupations. Eskimo children, for example, will learn about plants, birds, insects, and other animals, but their "courses" in folk biology and zoology will be different from the ones taken by Kwakiutl youth. Because variations in the content of education often seem so great, we tend to think that people must learn *our* particular culture to be educated. But education is a human phenomenon inevitably accomplished by every society. While we find constant evidence of differences in educational content, it is difficult to find people who are not educated.

Another major difference among patterns of education lies in the *structure* of the educational process. In every society nature imposes a cycle of growth from infancy to maturity. Children change into adults. Novices become experts. Teaching and learning is a crucial feature of the developmental cycle. Education is everywhere a bridge between the worlds of childhood and adulthood. But these bridges are constructed differently from one society to another. Two societies may teach young men to hunt, but do so in vastly different ways. Several societies with dissimilar values and beliefs can teach their children the same way.

When we examine the structure of education from a cross-cultural perspective, two important features show great variation: 1) the *continuity factor*, and 2) the *choice factor*. Each of these has direct relevance for the concept of Career Education.

Continuity Factor

Continuity marks the educational process in many societies. In small non-Western communities the social sphere of adult and child is often the same; no great dichotomy exists. Children slowly learn the attitudes and competencies necessary for adult roles and abrupt transitions seldom occur. The education of Wogeo youngsters in New Guinea provides a good example of this type of continuity.

Children accompany parents to the gardens, on fishing expeditions, and when they tend pigs. The children participate in planting taro, banana trees, and yams. The young learn to anticipate the seasons of growth and harvest the same way adults do. When pigs die or fishing is unsuccessful, children share in the anxiety, frustration, and worry. They listen to their parents at night when they are discussing the labor of the day or planning different tasks for tomorrow. Long before they have acquired the skills for productive work, they are allowed to assist adults. Ian Hogbin tells of his encounter with a father and son working together:

> . . . when Marigum was making a new canoe he allowed his youngest son, Sabwakai, to take an adze and chip at the dugout. On my inquiring

> whether the boy did not impede his progress, the father agreed that he would be able to work much faster alone. "But if I send the child away," he added, "how can I expect him to know anything? This time he was in the way, but I'm showing him and when we have to make another canoe he'll really be useful."[1]

For the Wogeo child, as well as for children in other societies where education exhibits a structural continuity, the transition into the adult world does not require learning new and strange occupations. It merely means increased responsibility in a familiar world and increased participation in the joys and frustrations of work that one has known since infancy.

In contrast, our own educational structure is marked by discontinuity between childhood and the world of work. There are two social spheres, one for children and another for adults. Increasingly, as parents work outside the home, children are isolated from any contact with their labor. Even in the home, a child is segregated in his own room, perhaps with other children; he is excluded from adult conversations about work, its frustrations, and satisfactions. The social spheres of child and adult are marked by such rigid spatial segregation that many children never spend as much as one day in the place where their parents work and do not even know about the work places of other adults. Likewise, although adults may visit schools on special days for brief periods of time, they seldom participate in the life of school where children are. Consumption and recreation activities are shared; productive activities are for adults alone. Ruth Benedict summarized this tendency:

> From a comparative point of view, our culture goes to great extremes in emphasizing contrast between the child and the adult. The child is sexless, the adult estimates his virility by his sexual activities; the child must be protected from the ugly facts of life, the adult must meet them without psychic catastrophe; the child must obey, the adult must command this obedience. These are all dogmas of our culture, dogmas which, in spite of the facts of nature, other cultures do not share.[2]

We may add to these dogma that the world of work is not a place for children, that work and play are different orders of reality, one for adults, the other for children.

It appears that discontinuity is one factor that contributes to the upheaval of adolescence. The abruptness of the transition requires our youth to struggle for adult status; they are confronted with a new and strange world. Youth don't merely lack information or skills; they have not acquired the intangible qualities necessary for adult occupational life—those values and attitudes that undergird productive activities. Moreover, the standards for evaluation of personal performance are dichotomous: one for children, another for adults. In those societies marked by structural continuity, a young person becoming an adult is judged by familiar standards, and it is recognized that his capacity to live up to those standards will increase with age and maturity. In our own society the transition from childhood to adulthood presents each individual with a new system of evaluation, one often at odds with previous experience. It's no small wonder that adolescent behavior often exhibits ambivalence–now seeking adulthood, then retreating.

The Choice Factor

The second major difference among educational structures is the choice factor. It is no accident that societies marked by educational continuity also offer a limited number of occupational choices. Each boy knows he will grow up to be like his father and the other men of his society. Girls learn early the social and occupational roles of women. In many small societies, specialized roles are reserved for religious practitioners, the shaman or curer. Some men and women are recognized for particular skills in the traditional crafts, but even these will not specialize to work only at these occupations. In such societies one hardly chooses a career; it is chosen for him. There is no need for learning basic skills that later can be used in a variety of occupations. Adults do not discuss with children their abilities and interests or future job opportunities. Relatively few options are available and such discussions are irrelevant.

In contrast, modern industrial society presents the individual with a myriad of choices. No living adult knows them all; none of us can even learn the full meaning or the skills involved in more than a few of our culture's occupational roles. It's no accident that our society, with its high degree of specialization, has developed an educational system marked by discontinuity between childhood and adulthood. How could it be otherwise with so many different options for careers? How would we instruct all children in all possible jobs? In place of specific training for work, education has been designed to impart fundamental skills thought necessary to most adult roles. In addition, since many specialized roles require long years of preparation, a major function of education has been to prepare children for more education.

Career Education and Cultural Change

These two structural features of human educational systems–the continuity factor and the choice factor–are fundamental to the cultural changes which are the aim of Career Education. All cultures are in a continual state of change. New techniques for hunting, fishing, or planting are invented or discovered. As members of different societies come into contact, they borrow ideas and technology from each other. New religions arise; new ways to deal with old problems are devised; clothing styles change; and social organizations are altered. And culture change always means a change in the content of education. In our own society new courses are introduced, old courses are revised and updated, and new methods for teaching are devised.

While the content of education is constantly changing, the structure of educational systems is more stable over time. Among the Wogeo of New Guinea, as with many non-Western groups, the introduction of schools represents a major structural change in education. In our own society, educational structures have seen only minor alterations during the last hundred years. The People's Republic of China, on the other hand, has brought about revolutionary structural changes in its educational system within the last 15 years.

Career Education is intended to be a cultural innovation of some magnitude. While it will change the content of education, the aim is even more to change the structure of our educational system. In particular, Career Education is designed to change the way our culture structures continuity and choice. If Career Education could be implemented instantaneously, the discontinuity between the worlds of childhood and adulthood would disappear and thousands of occupational choices would no longer be a mystery to our youth.

When we view Career Education from the cultural perspective, we see it is no small revision of curriculums, but a change that strikes at the fundamental structure of American education. This means we are dealing with deeply held cultural values, many of them outside awareness. Such values are not easily changed. Furthermore, innovations can be rejected outright or interpreted in ways that would lead to their rejection. Because Career Education is fast becoming an evocative cultural symbol with many different associations, understanding its various interpretations is essential for its successful adoption. In this paper I do not evaluate—except in passing—the merits of Career Education. Rather, I want to explore two contrasting cultural interpretations of this innovation, and to discuss how these affect its adoption by educators. Finally, I suggest a conceptual clarification for Career Education.

Cultural Interpretations of Career Education

The proponents of cultural change often overlook the fact that what they consider to be a benefit, others consider a burden. For example, when modern hospitals are built for people who have depended only on their folk medicine, the hospitals often are interpreted as dangerous places where people go to die. The Western physician is seen by local curers as an outsider who would destroy their status, undermine their respected techniques, and take away their business. Our cultural background, the groups to which we belong, the status we enjoy—all these influence the way we perceive cultural innovations. Anthropologists have learned that the study of innovations and cultural change must begin with the investigation of the various perceptions and definitions of innovations and change. The "real" meaning of an innovation is nonexistent; instead, it has numerous meanings for various groups within a culture.

Career Education is a general and highly symbolic concept. As a proposed innovation, it is broad enough to include something for everyone; therein lies part of the problem. Like the Rorschach ink blot test, it becomes a projective device that enables different people to read their own meanings into the concept. What different groups see in Career Education will depend, in part, on their cultural values. To clarify the concept, attention must be shifted from the question, "What does Career Education mean?" to the more difficult question, "How do various groups interpret the meaning of Career Education?"

To begin with, I want to explore two contrasting interpretations that have emerged as this innovative concept has been presented to educators and others across the country. These two positions, as we shall see, emerge from different evaluations of both the continuity factor and the choice factor in our educational structure. One position is held by *vocational enthusiasts*, the other by *academic critics*. These are by no means the only groups, but because their positions reflect what I believe to be widely held cultural values, I shall focus on these two, oversimplifying for the sake of clarity and emphasis.

Vocational Enthusiasts

The vocational enthusiasts endorse Career Education without reservations. In the first place, they believe it will bring us back to a cherished value, the work ethic. Work is a virtue in and of itself; idleness and play are inherently evil. The man who works with his hands (blue collar) is especially desired in contrast to those who *claim* to work with their heads (white collar). Since a college education does not necessarily lead to the acquisition of employable skills, it has an ambiguous place in their value system. It would be good if colleges paid more attention to preparing our youth for specific jobs instead of filling their minds with esoteric theories. Career Education, it is believed, will place a new emphasis on the dignity of all work.

A second reason for supporting Career Education is that it will reduce the discontinuity between childhood and adulthood. Those who work in vocational education have seen what learning an occupational skill does for a person. Often they have encountered youngsters without a sense of purpose who have failed in their school work and have become alienated from the larger society. Through vocational education, these social rejects acquired the skills necessary for productive employment. They went on to find success at useful jobs in society, their sense of purpose restored, and their alienation dissipated.

Career Education, if it is implemented, could have similar results for all youth. It holds out the promise of reducing the turmoil of these transition years, of building a bridge between the generations, and of increasing the continuity between childhood education and adult work. The vocational enthusiasts recognize that making adequate choices in a complex and rapidly changing world is a major problem for youth, but it is less important than learning the skills of some chosen occupation.

A third factor in the support that vocational enthusiasts give to Career Education is that it promises to upgrade their status in the educational community. Vocational education has low-prestige value, it has been associated with the social rejects, the dropouts, and those who failed to learn. The professional identities of most vocational enthusiasts thus have been tied to low-prestige positions vis-a-vis the academic educators. I am not impugning the motives of vocational enthusiasts by saying they see Career Education as their potential savior. I only wish to underscore the fact that rewards and value systems and relative status influence our viewpoints.

Academic Critics

The academic critics, on the other hand, are highly suspicious of Career Education. They believe that education must be far more than preparation for work. A cultivated mind is more to be cherished than a carload of job skills. Work is a necessary evil, especially hard physical labor. The very meaning of social mobility and opportunity for all is to get away from job training. But Career Education, it is thought, would change all that. In place of a liberal education that prepares students to move up in the world, schools would teach bricklaying, cooking, carpentry, auto mechanics, and even the work of common laborers. No academic critic wants that kind of education for his own children, and he doesn't want to work in a school where these vocational subjects are highly valued.

In addition to rejecting the work ethic as inherently good, academic critics emphasize the complexity and rapid change that characterize our culture. While Career Education may provide continuity between youth and adulthood, it would, at the same time, restrict the number of choices available to the individual and make intelligent decisions all but impossible. It is not important to select a vocation early and then learn the requisite skills; that would be fine for a simple society, but it is unrealistic today. What is crucial, say the academic critics, is a broad education for the whole man, an education that at some future point will enable him to make wise decisions regarding his life's work. Other choices are equally important, such as which political party to join, where to live, what avocations to pursue, and which lifestyle to adopt. Rapid change means that occupations will become obsolete almost before one's training is completed; therefore, it is best not to train. The best education is one that imparts basic skills and that prepares us to make wise decisions in an ever-changing world. Career Education seems to lead away from that educational ideal.

Finally, the academic critics also have their place in the prestige value system of education. They teach, counsel, and administer on the academic side; their own training and professional identities are tied up with nonvocational education. Career Education is perceived as a movement to downgrade academic education and to replace it with what has previously been reserved for the social and educational rejects. The academic critics are like Cinderella's stepsisters. They are somewhat dismayed to find that the prince of Career Education has discovered the one they have held in contempt these many years. In short, Career Education will change the legitimate status system in the land of education.

These different perspectives on Career Education, deeply enmeshed in their respective value systems, probably will not change easily. In fact, I suggest that these conflicting views will haunt Career Education for years to come. Moreover, they can easily transform Career Education into a pawn for hundreds of school districts to use in the status games that go on within our educational system. This does not mean that change is impossible merely because it is difficult.

Career Education: A Suggested Orientation

Both the vocational enthusiasts and the academic critics know of problems created by the structure of our educational system, but one group emphasizes the need to enhance continuity between school and work, while the other stresses decisionmaking in a complex world. Career Education must deal with both of these structural features. The goal of reducing discontinuity between childhood and the adult world is highly desirable and there is reason to believe it can be achieved. The goal of preparing students to make informed choices, to give them resources for choosing among the vast number of alternatives, is also important and possible. But continuity, which also results in premature decisions and narrow tracking into occupations, would create serious problems. And discontinuity under the guise of preparing students to make decisions is a falsehood. I think four steps need to be taken if Career Education is to be accepted as a cultural innovation and if it is to deal effectively with both discontinuity and the multiplicity of career choices that exist in our culture.

Clarifying the Primary Goal

I suggest the following: The goal of Career Education is *to enable every person to make informed choices as he develops his own career.* The objective is to give each person a greater command over his own life. While this is often stated as a part of Career Education, I am suggesting that it be elevated to the status of its primary goal.

Many factors presently block various segments of our population from making informed choices and developing their own careers. People make decisions by default as our educational system sorts them into one of the three curricular tracks. Others are prohibited from informed choices because of their minority-group status. Many barriers prohibit women from controlling their own career destinies. Major changes in our educational system will be called for if we are to maximize each person's opportunity to make informed choices and develop his own career.

In the goal stated above, a career is broadly conceived as the course of one's life. A major feature of one's career is the various occupations he or she will engage in. But there are other important features as well. A person may work for several years, return to school for a time, and then enter a different profession. In such a case, occupation and school both make up parts of one's career. A career is progress along a pathway, not arrival at a destination. What must be stressed is the lifelong process in contrast to a single decision at one point in time. Several related concepts such as *multiple careers, career change,* and *career choices,* must be refined. At one time a single career was considered the norm. If a person changed careers late in life, he was considered unstable—unless the change was a clear indication of upward mobility. But in a changing world it may become the norm for persons to choose multiple career paths. Orientation to a great many career clusters during school years will prepare a person for career changes later in life. A woman may work as a practical nurse, return to school for her R.N., spend a few years as a full-time housewife, enter hospital training as a registered nurse, return to school to study interior decorating, work as an interior decorator, and finally in retirement teach art classes on a part-time basis. Career choices are made at each change in the pathway.

The notion of *informed choices* is crucial to the primary goal of Career Education. The greatest barrier to developing one's own career and having command over one's life is lack of information. To choose a career is to select from available alternatives. But if the vast majority of career alternatives are unknown, they are not viable options for the individual. Furthermore, in our complex, rapidly changing society, the necessary information about career opportunities cannot be gained during the senior year in high school. It must be imparted throughout the course of one's education, from beginning to end.

What kind of knowledge is essential if we are to educate people to make informed career choices? First, students must know about their own *interests* and *aptitudes*. Second, they must have access to the *specifications* for a wide range of occupations. This will include information about required skills, necessary training, advanced degree requirements, job forecasts, pay scales, and opportunities for advancement. These two types of information, which are generally provided by vocational or career counseling offices, must be integrated into the curriculums of Career Education.

But there is a third kind of information that is necessary for making informed choices, a kind that has been almost nonexistent heretofore. Students must learn about the *occupational cultures* they will be part of for any particular career. The world of work is not merely forty hours a week, income and promotions. It is a lifestyle, a set of values and assumptions. It means membership in a group with its own customs and mores. The satisfactions and frustrations of a career are results of this wider occupational culture far more than they are dependent on the income and status of a job.

From the anthropological perspective this means we will need cultural descriptions of thousands of jobs–occupational ethnographies that preserve the wholeness and vividness of daily life in the world of work. Today we are in the curious position of knowing more about work in some primitive societies than we do about work in our own culture.

Much of the information required for making choices cannot be acquired through reading, lecture, or film. It will require direct experience in the setting of a particular career to give the student a sense of what this occupational lifestyle involves. But again, the goal of direct experience is not to prepare the student for employment, though that may be one consequence, but to enable him to make informed choices. This kind of direct experience may even take the form of scholarly research.

In contrast to a single career choice, Career Education stresses multiple career choices. The idea of one big decision that comes late in the educational experience will not die easily. The plural nature of the process will have to be emphasized–choice*s*, decision*s*, and selection*s*. Career choices begin during the first year of school and continue through life. They involve learning to make decisions that lead into a career activity (whether a class, avocation, or occupation) and also decisions that lead out of a career activity. The fifth-grade child who selects a visit to a hospital instead of an electronics firm is making a small but important decision. At present our educational system allows few career-related choices. Preparation for major decisions will be provided in the opportunity to make hundreds of small explorations and decisions throughout the educational process. Major decision points will not be eliminated, but they will become part of a long-term process.

Enlarging the Target Population

In particular, a college-based Career Education model should be developed and implemented at the earliest possible time. It need not be on such a large scale as the K-12 demonstration projects initiated by the U.S. Office of Education, but some pilot programs should be considered. The college population should be given equal status with K-12 as a group that needs Career Education. There are three major reasons why it is important to enlarge the target audience.

First, college students are unprepared to make informed career choices. Many are in college by a kind of decision by default. They didn't want to be drafted, they knew college had high prestige value, and they did not want to enter low-status jobs directly after high school. Most college degree programs, especially those in the liberal arts, do not facilitate informed career choices.

Second, focusing on K-12 or even K-14 will inadvertently reinforce the image that Career Education is, after all, the old wine of vocational education in a new bottle. How does this occur? To begin with, while there have been three traditional curriculums in our Nation's schools, there are really only two major divisions: *vocational* and *academic* (with one academic track leading on to college and the other ending with high school). The academic curriculum that ends with high school (general education) does not prepare students for jobs. The antidote for this malady is Career Education. But, it is imperative to take every precaution to avoid the equation that Career Education equals vocational education. A demonstration that Career Education is for college students would help avoid this. Although we may wish to eradicate the myth that a college degree opens the door to status and opportunity, that is not the primary goal of Career Education. That myth will die as we break down the walls of isolation that keep youth from understanding the world of work.

Finally, let me emphasize that a growing clamor exists among college students and faculty for a more career-oriented curriculum. In part, this has arisen because of reduced job opportunities (such as teaching) and fewer places in graduate schools. It is also a result of questioning the validity of a liberal arts education.

Identifying the Means for Achieving the Primary Goal

Many elements in the current formulations of Career Education could best be interpreted as *means*. While they are important, they are not to be confused with the goal. As changes occur in our technology, economic system, population, and general culture, the means for achieving the goal of Career Education also may change. It should be recognized that the appropriate means for one age group will be different from the ones needed to enable another group to make informed decisions.

Before listing means to an end, an example may help to make clear why this type of identification is important. A major goal of Career Education is to provide graduates from the secondary level with skills to enter the world of work. If this is seen as a primary goal, Career Education will be interpreted as: (a) a new kind of vocational education, (b) a narrow track that will ultimately limit options, and (c) an attempt to push students into premature occupational choices. This kind of interpretation will result in the rejection of Career Education by many. In our rapidly changing culture, it will be argued that we need flexibility rather than narrow, rigid training.

On the other hand, if the aforementioned aim is seen as a means for achieving the goal–one way to assist people to make informed decisions–it will take on new meaning. Training in the skills of a particular career cluster is not done merely to enable people to find an entry into the work force (although that may be one consequence). It is not merely to make people more employable. It is a necessary ingredient if we are to educate people for informed choices. It is one way to learn the nature of a career cluster. After all, how can a person make an informed decision regarding a career if he has never tried out those activities that it requires? Only after mastering some basic skills is a person ready to make an informed decision. Some degree of skill competence is as important in this respect as a knowledge of working hours or beginning salary.

What elements of Career Education should be identified as *means* to the goal of making informed choices as one develops his own career?

Career information. Curricular revision is needed to infuse schools at all levels with information about the world of work. This must include information about the culture and lifestyle of careers, not merely entry requirements, advancement possibilities, and pay scales.

Career experience. Curricular revision is needed to allow for experience in the setting of various occupations.

Career-skills training. Opportunity is needed to gain a sense of competence and ability to perform in a variety of career clusters.

Contact with career models. Increased opportunity for students to interact with men and women from a wide range of careers in and out of the school setting will certainly help students make informed choices.

Career decisionmaking. Understanding the nature of decisionmaking, the necessity for short-term commitments to careers in a changing society, and moving in and out of careers all will contribute to achieving the primary goal.

Enumerating the Potential Positive Consequences

Many elements of Career Education are better understood as possible spinoffs than as primary goals. They are potential bonuses, but Career Education neither stands nor falls on their achievement. And, given the difficulty of predicting human behavior, it is probably best to scale down expectations concerning these byproducts. The following are among the most important potential positive consequences of Career Education.

An appreciation for the dignity of many different kinds of work. Dignity cannot be assigned automatically by proclamation–it arises from understanding and association with people in a particular occupation.

Increased motivation through a sense of competence. Robert White has written on the concept of competence motivation and its effect on behavior. On the basis of his studies we might anticipate that if students gain some skills, a sense of competence will result and directly influence their motivation.[3]

Increased motivation through relevance. As students see the relationship between their studies and possible lifetime careers, they may be motivated to study and work more enthusiastically.

Increased adaptability to change. In our rapidly changing technological society, some predict that career patterns may require new occupations for many people every few years. If we equip students with a wide range of information and decisionmaking skills, they will be able to move in and out of various occupations more easily. In addition, Career Education will provide ways to get back into the educational system when career changes must be made.

Increased avocational options. Some predict that Americans will have a far greater amount of leisure time in the future, through a shortened work week and earlier retirement. Preparation for the best use of leisure time may be one of the spinoffs of Career Education. Many avocations are based on the specialized knowledge of occupations. For example, as students explore agricultural careers they are gaining experience that may enable them to make informed choices about their leisure time pursuits such as a hobby farm or organic gardening. Exposure to the social service careers may open up service opportunities as an avocation later in life even if this is not one's chosen occupational cluster. A careful investigation of the ways in which career clusters and avocational pursuits might be linked in Career Education should be given high priority.

Equal opportunity for women. Opportunities for women to pursue careers on an equal basis with men will probably not result from elimination of legal barriers. The most important barrier is built into our social system that restricts the aspirations of girls to an extremely narrow range of roles. One of the most important consequences of Career Education is that it could make girls aware at a crucial age of potential careers. Contact with women career models will facilitate this. In addition, many women may want to combine two or more careers–either at the same time or sequentially–such as homemaker and judge. As the concept of multiple careers becomes widely accepted, this type of career pattern will be easier to achieve.

Finally, Career Education offers one way to change the structural discontinuity that exists between childhood and the adult world of work. It does not mean some kind of retreat to a time when social life was less complex. By facing the full implications of present day complexities and by educating our youth to make informed career decisions, we could build bridges of understanding across the generations.

Footnotes

1. "A New Guinea Childhood: From Weaning Til the Eighth Year in Wogeo," *Oceania* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1946): 281.
2. "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," in *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, eds. Clyde Kluckhon, Henry Murray and David Schneider (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 523.
3. "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence," *Psychological Review* 66, no. 3 (May 1959): 297-333.

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A former United States Commissioner of Education, Sterling M. McMurrin is currently E.E. Ericksen Distinguished Professor and Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Utah.

Dr. McMurrin believes that the meanings of Career Education and education can be equated and that those meanings reside in the purposes of education itself. Because education is a function of the culture, the purposes of education must be determined by reference to the culture. Dr. McMurrin discusses the work ethic as a cultural value that will continue to affect education and argues that, to meet a changing society's needs, Career Education should include preparation for avocations as well as vocations.

The author feels that no distinction should be made between Career Education and liberal education. The two often are inextricably involved with one another, and both are the birthright of every American. However, he notes that student needs differ; therefore diversity in education should be encouraged by offering individual instruction. Moreover, quality in Career Education can result from involving agencies outside the school in the educational process.

Toward a Philosophy for Career Education

Sterling M. McMurrin

In determining the meaning of Career Education the task of locating the differentia is especially difficult. For while "career" is apparently a differentiating term, just what it means and how it sets Career Education apart from other education and thereby provides it with specific intention is not obvious. I have come to the tentative conclusion that "career" should not function as a defining term, but should be considered explicative in character; i.e., Career Education is properly synonymous in meaning with *education*. Or to put it differently, all education, in addition to whatever else it may be, should be Career Education.

We are not bound to mean something by Career Education in principle different from what we mean simply by education. "Career" added to "education" may well be employed to explain or emphasize a characteristic or facet of any or all education whatsoever. But it seems to me that it should not designate a particular kind of education. Anything worthy to be called "education" must be relevant to the cultivation of those capabilities and qualities that make possible or in various ways enhance a career. This allows, of course, for isolated instances of "instruction" that may be valuable, but that do not merit the name "education." It also allows for references to education without association with the term "career" where no reference to the career facet of education is intended.

The meaning of education, moreover, is synonymous in principle with the broad purposes of education combined with the more immediate goals of educational institutions and the objectives of instructional programs. This meaning is not self-evident, nor is it deducible from any set of self-evident propositions or principles, or from any set of propositions setting forth a metaphysical system or position. Nor can it be established empirically simply by a study of educational phenomena by those sciences that properly relate to educational thought, e.g., psychology, sociology, or anthropology. Education is a function of the culture; its meaning, which must be determined by philosophical analysis and speculation and scientific study, is fully discerned only where these are concerned with the structure and substance of the culture. Insofar as education is defined primarily in terms of its purposes or ends, as I believe it should be, its definition is both a normative and a descriptive matter; therefore, it is necessarily a matter of both philosophical analysis and scientific description. The point is that the meaning of education must be found ultimately in the character of the culture, especially in its value structure determined both by practices and ideals.

Variations among cultures mean variations among conceptions of education. Basic transformations in a culture necessarily entail transformation in the meaning of education. Education means something different, for instance, in the Soviet Union than it does in the United States. And education doesn't mean exactly the same among the agrarian Mennonites of Ohio and Pennsylvania as it means among the ghetto dwellers of New York. Yet a common core of meaning exists, and the notion of "career" lies right at its heart.

Although I believe they hold generally for Western nations, my comments on the meaning of Career Education have to do primarily with education in the United States. In any society the elemental function of education is induction into the culture. Except in deviate situations, education in the United States means induction into the American culture, which includes the institutions of American society, the achievement of literacy and critical intelligence, and the cultivation of the individual's physical and intellectual capabilities and artistic and moral sensibilities. That we regard the individual as the proper end of education in no way alters the fact that education is the pursuit of the primary values of our culture, for the very foundation of that culture is the individualism that ideally defines the person as the locus and center of value. In Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia the purpose of education was to serve the state even though the individual was the subject of education. It would be inappropriate for a totalitarian state to treat the individual as an end in himself, just as it would be inappropriate for a democratic state to do otherwise. But it is one of the presuppositions of democracy that whatever serves best the well-being of the individual brings strength to the society and vitality to its culture.

The Work Ethic Factor

Now, to get to the point of why I prefer to equate the meaning of Career Education with the basic meaning of education. My basic argument refers to what we commonly designate the "Puritan ethic" or the "work ethic." This factor has probably had a larger impact on the style and strength of our social institutions and on the value structure and substance of our culture, in both social and individual practice and ideals, than any other. To encounter this we need only reflect on the degree to which we tend even today to judge others in terms of "what they do," to decide their personal character or quality or otherwise establish their identity by their occupation. I say "even today" because I am quite aware that today, especially within our central cities, the numbers of persons who for various reasons are not a part of the so-called world of work are increasing. And the great increase in leisure time made possible by modern technology has released most of us from the severe bondage to work that characterized the past. But for the most part, alienation from work is generally regarded as an aberration of our society that should be, and we hope can be, corrected. Indeed, the attempt to correct it is perhaps the main thrust of the current emphasis on Career Education. At any rate, that many thousands of our people are not affected by the life patterns associated with work is not generally accepted as either a normal or desirable state of affairs.

The reason for this is clear. The main structure of our values has been determined in considerable part by the role played by productive work. We are inclined, therefore, to pass a moral judgment against any totally different orientation to life. Even those possessing inherited wealth are expected to do various kinds of work in the interest of society. More than that, we do not see any alternative ground on which we could both maintain a viable economic and social structure and provide adequately for the cultivation of personal and social moral values for everyone.

Many hold that we must begin to think in terms of alternatives to the work ethic. But I am not impressed by their arguments. Certainly I agree that there will always be those not directly involved in work. And I fully agree that these persons should not be subjected to censure simply because of the work orientation of our moral values.

Perhaps a word of explanation is appropriate here. Although certain kinds of work obviously and fortunately have intrinsic value and in general work is instrumental to a large variety of additional values, I am not suggesting that work is in any sense an absolute value, as if by its very nature it were essential to a moral life. I would not for a moment argue that work is intrinsically essential to moral character. The issue at hand is not a question of absolute values. It is conceivable that there could be a world entirely free from the various activities that we designate by the highly ambiguous term "work." This would not necessarily mean that moral character would not be possible in that world. Ours is not the only possible world; I'm sure, moreover, that it is not the best of all possible worlds. But it is the one we live in and I think that notwithstanding the incredible possibilities of our technology, our movement toward a welfare state, or the current breakdown of many of our traditional values, it is unthinkable that in any foreseeable future we can sustain our social economy without a large part of the population engaged in some kind of productive work.

However, to say that modern technology is easing the burden of work is a related though somewhat different matter. Certainly, the increase of work-free time is one of the most crucial social facts of our age. Undoubtedly the increasing automation and cybernation of industry, agriculture, transportation, and other sectors are transforming the character and quality of life in a fundamental way related to the work ethic. The advance of labor-saving technology must eventually greatly reduce the number of man hours necessary to maintain services, production, and distribution at a satisfactory level. In the long run, production will no doubt be greatly increased; rather than the large-scale technological unemployment feared by some, the result probably will be measured in terms of greatly increased leisure time for the average worker. At least this is the probable result if we deal intelligently with our problems of manpower demand and supply.

The Importance of Avocation

While this does not mean an abandonment either of work or the work basis of many of our values, it does mean a general lessening of the role played by work in the total life of the individual. There will be far more time and energy available for other pursuits. And this means, in effect, that whereas before our values had been rooted in large part in our vocations, in the future they must be grounded as well in our avocations. Not that vocation will become unimportant; rather, avocation will become more and more important. Here is a genuine moral revolution, a large transformation in the culture; certainly, here is a large challenge to education—to prepare people to live by avocation as well as by vocation.

It is both vocation and avocation that concern us here, for both are included in education for careers. I have made this brief excursion not simply to argue the importance of avocation, which I believe should be one of our major concerns, but to point up my conviction that work in some form will be with us in the future even though there probably will be less of it per person to maintain an even higher standard of living than we have at present. In fact, work will continue to function as a central and determining element of our culture, although avocation will become increasingly important as a generative base of our values. Here I must insist that the term *career* should cover both vocation and avocation. It must mean something like "what a person lives by," and life is basically—but not solely—an economic venture. Certainly it would be a gross misfortune if Career Education should become simply a synonym for the old vocational education.

Having said this, I must add that I personally prefer the term *vocation* to *career*. The former has a depth and richness in its meaning that the latter does not now have. I don't like the undemocratic connotations that *vocational education* sometimes has carried—the idea that each person has a calling specified in advance by God or his social class or simply by nature. But I do like the suggestion of commitment and supreme worth that it can carry. The Puritan work ethic is the idea that it is the vocation of man to create the Kingdom of

God, or as we have secularized it, his vocation is to produce the good society, or possibly now even to contribute to society whether good or not. There is a feel for value here that does more than simply dignify work; it elevates creative and productive work to a high level of worth. It is unfortunate, therefore, that both our schools and the public have debased the term *vocation* by treating it within the context of educational discourse as if it meant a second-class education for third- or fourth-class purposes.

A decade ago I urged vocational schools to abandon the term *vocational* in favor of *technical* as necessary to upgrade both their quality and public image. But it was most unfortunate that this move became advisable, for no term now serves as a fully satisfactory substitute for *vocation*. Ralph Tyler has proposed the term *functional education*. Although he has approached the matter within the context of preparation for an occupation, he is concerned with the bearing of school education on a person's total life.

> It is not [my] intent to suggest that there is any difference between the conditions required for students to learn things which will enable them to carry on successfully their occupational activities and the conditions required for learning things helpful in other areas of life. The conditions essential to one kind of education are essential for all kinds.[1]

I mention this matter of words to make it clear that in arguing that all education is or should be Career Education, I mean to include in Career Education what we would mean by vocational education in the best sense of that term where vocation refers to the philosopher, statesman, physician, scholar, and homemaker as well as the technician, mechanic, and laborer. All of these are involved in work. Without this universality I could not defend the case that Career Education should receive the primary emphasis in our schools and colleges. Moreover, and this is most important, Career Education must mean not simply preparation in the knowledge and skills requisite for success in some line of work. It must also mean the cultivation of those artistic and moral sensibilities and qualities of intellect that mean success in living in the larger sense. It is here that avocation enters the picture.

Here, then, is the substance of my argument: (a) the meaning of education, which resides primarily in the purposes of education, must be determined by reference to the total culture because education is a function of the culture; (b) in its value structure American culture is importantly determined by the fact of creative and productive work; (c) the work ethic is now, and for any foreseeable future will remain, a primary foundation of our values; and (d) the primary definition of Career Education, therefore, must refer to creative and productive work and what they imply for society and the individual in terms of vocation or career in the fullest meaning of those terms. An education should lead to a career, not simply to a job or executive position or profession. In addition, education should lead to a total pattern of life worthy of the individual and his society.

This argument may appeal to those concerned with the practical irrelevance of much, if not most, formal education. Certainly education that leads readily to employment, whether as farmer, musician, plumber, or physician, can be readily classified as Career Education. But the big question that must be faced, and one not so easily answered, concerns liberal education. Surely we cannot encourage Career Education to preempt the field to the neglect of what has traditionally been called liberal education.

More Liberal Education

My answer, obviously, is that liberal education must be fully protected. It may need a little cultivation, and perhaps some transformations, but it must be protected. We need more, not less, liberal education. (I should say parenthetically that I regard the tendency of many curriculum makers since World War II to equate "liberal" with "general" education as something of a crime against education.) My point is that we should no longer separate liberal education from Career Education and set them against one another, either in our thinking or in curriculum structures.

I can see no reason why the breach between liberal and Career Education should not be closed. The Greeks made no distinction, as we do, between the fine and applied arts. I believe Aristotle would be shocked by this division. He saw no difference in principle between building a house and composing a poem. We are not under some kind of classical obligation to approach the meaning of education in a way that segments and distorts the continuum of knowledge and experience. This condition is more than anything else a habit in our thinking, a habit stabilized by our literature and by the organization of our educational system.

In our colleges and universities we are doing many things to overcome the segmentation of knowledge, a condition commonly enhanced by faculty departmentalization. But we must go beyond such techniques as the development of interdepartmental instructional and research programs to a conception of education that restores its organic wholeness. Education lies too close to the generative sources of human personality and the structure of society to permit the present confusions and contradictions to continue.

Two basic meanings of liberal education, an old and a new, have emerged. The old meaning referred to the education appropriate for a liberated or free person—embracing especially the trivium and quadrivium—as opposed to education in mechanics, deemed proper for a servile person. This conception of liberal education doesn't fit our culture because our education is properly geared to the ideal of a free society having no servile class. Our failures to produce a society in which there is full political, economic, and intellectual freedom for all should not be condoned or endorsed by our educational theory. There should be no presumptive exclusion from a liberal education by reason of one's station in life Under the old definition, therefore, all have access to a liberal education as well as to Career Education. (My setting these terms in opposition to one another is temporary and for the purpose of discussion only.)

The new conception is that liberal education is the education that liberates a person. It cultivates the qualities of mind essential to genuine freedom–freedom from fear, ignorance, superstition, and bigotry and the freedom to be an authentic individual. In our society, liberal education–conceived as education which liberates–belongs to all. We must come to the same conclusion, of course, if we approach the matter in terms of elements of the liberal curriculum. Is there anyone on the spectrum of Career Education in our society, for instance, whether a prospective mechanic, physician, business executive, or university professor, not entitled somewhere along the line to instruction in art appreciation, government, languages, history, philosophy, or the fundamentals of science? Not only are all entitled to this liberal education; society is, by its own social principles, obligated to make such education available to all its members wherever and whenever possible without regard to stations in life. In a democracy the basic value of liberal education–the value of knowledge, reasonableness, and artistic, moral, and spiritual sensitivity–is properly the property of all.

My point should be obvious. Just as everyone in our society should be involved in education for a career, everyone also should be involved in liberal education for cultivation of the intellect.

But this is only part of the picture. It is not simply that everyone is involved in two kinds of education, both career and liberal, but rather that the career elements and the liberal elements of a good education often are so closely related, so inextricably involved with one another, or even so similar or identical, that any artificial separation can not or should not be made. To begin with, a large segment of our population–teachers, artists, scientists, countless homemakers, to name a few–builds careers squarely on liberal education. In addition, the present trend is toward increased intellectual sophistication in basic types of employment that place liberal subjects such as mathematics squarely in the curriculum of education for jobs in fields such as the mechanic arts.

Even more important is a growing recognition on the part of both employers and professional schools that a basic liberal education contributes importantly to the self-fulfillment of a prospective employee or professional student and therefore is to be either required or recommended. It has long been evident that some of the strongest humanities programs in the country are found in its most specialized technological institutes. Professional schools often prefer students with undergraduate preparation of the type that we commonly call liberal. Some of our strongest graduate schools of business apparently prefer students with baccalaureate degrees in the arts and sciences rather than in specifically business areas. I even have heard a medical school dean insist that he would rather have a student whose work was in English than in one of the life sciences. There is a growing recognition that a liberal education not only tends to produce a happier, more informed, and better citizen but also produces a better doctor, lawyer, mechanic, or executive.

I am not arguing that the specific task of welding in itself calls for as much liberal education as the tasks peculiar to a business executive, though I do insist that a person who welds should be liberally educated for his own good as well as society's. But all in all we seem to be coming to grips, however slowly, with the fact that, even apart from the issue of the general quality of a person's life, liberal education, which may be expected to figure more and more prominently in the work capabilities specifically required of an increasing number of people, has an important bearing on the work of all people.

Here, of course, we encounter a large problem that has always plagued advanced industrial societies—boredom of work. Even reduction in time spent on assembly lines does not entirely solve this difficult and sometimes personally devastating condition. We can hope that eventually much of the drudgery now a part of the lives of most people will be taken over by automated instruments. But most of us are probably condemned to spend some part of our time and energy doing routine, monotonous, and in themselves personally unrewarding tasks. I don't want to press this point to absurdity, but I am confident that the liberal element in education indicates one of the directions we must take to counterbalance this weight on human personality. If this is the case, it would appear that the liberal component of education is properly an ingredient of educational preparation for employment at any level of task whatsoever.

Conclusion

I hope that my point in all of this is obvious. We can no longer make the old distinction between vocational and liberal education, or career and liberal education. In the first place, by any definition, all our people are entitled to and should receive both. In the second place, the distinction between them, always tenuous, is becoming increasingly blurred. I am not arguing that instruction in the use of a jackhammer is the same as instruction in employing the dative case in Latin, but both may be regarded as instruction in a useful art.

Some will prefer to retain the shadowy and ambiguous distinction between *career* and *liberal*, although I think it is a distinction that the future does not need and will not value. Education worthy of the name is education for a career and education that liberates the mind and soul.

My argument does not support a movement of education toward some policy of conformity that makes education consist of the same elements for all. This would be culturally disastrous. Variety, diversity, and plurality are essential to the quality of personal and social life. Unless they are present in education they will be lost to the culture; incidentally, unless they are present in the character of educational institutions, they may be lost to education. What we need is a more intensive individualization of instruction, something that should become possible through greater knowledge of the learning process, better design of the format of instruction, and wise employment of the new instructional technology.

Further, I should mention that I do not see either Career Education or liberal education, or what for some purposes I would now simply prefer to call "education," as in any way an exclusive province of the schools. Education is a task for the total society, within which the schools serve specialized functions, particularly those relating to the achievement of knowledge and the cultivation of the intellect. To take care of the career facets of education properly will no doubt involve many agencies of society, including business and industry, which must in various ways cooperate with the schools. Moreover, even the work of the schools may be expected to depart radically from traditional instructional formats. As the school becomes more aware of its place within the total educational process and becomes at the same time more sophisticated in the uses of the new instruments of information and communication, education will more and more follow nontraditional forms that promise to make it more relevant to the individual's total experience and more meaningful in relation to his career.

Finally, I will add simply that with a greater concern for the relation of education to careers, education as a continuing, unending process should come into its own. Job mobility is essential to our kind of society. Basic education must prepare a person not so much to perform specific tasks as to cultivate in him the capacity to *learn* to perform specific tasks, whether intellectual or physical, when the occasion requires. The continuing development of modern technology fairly guarantees a high momentum in the changes that will take place in the conditions of life for the average person, including the conditions of his employment. His education must be a continuing process that both ensures his employability and excellence in performing his work and brings him the rewards of life that accrue to those whose minds are subject to unending cultivation.

Footnote

1. "The Concept of Functional Education," in *Functional Education for Disadvantaged Youth*, ed. Sterling M. McMurrin (New York: Committee for Economic Development and Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1971), p. 13.

Susan Margot Smith is Assistant to the Vice President and Provost of Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minn., with special responsibility for faculty personnel administration and academic planning. Her educational background is in history and American studies.

In this essay, Ms. Smith challenges the assumption that education today is free from the stereotyped thinking and expectations that limited the career development of women a century ago. She argues that the concept of Career Education must be developed in such a way as to eliminate this type of thinking.

Ms. Smith is concerned about the origins of what she calls "a trend of unfinished performance," or the tendency for comparatively few women to compete for higher degrees even though their early school performance indicates great promise. She argues that Career Education must help women reexamine their roles and reach their full intellectual and professional potential.

Career Education for Women: An Opportunity to Change the Theme

Susan Margot Smith

Most of us know little about our great-grandmothers. But folk memory has passed along some enduring ideas about them. That curl below the ear, for example, was obedience to a taskmaster of stern fashion. A young girl's manners were under close scrutiny, we are told, and new ventures were matters of cautious domestic debate. Certain kinds of pursuits were encouraged. Others were greeted with horror. A violated fashion might raise an eyebrow, but a violated propriety could bring ruin. The virtuous woman was a forbearing helpmate and a tireless mother. If the circumstances of her family permitted it, she was an ornament in the society she kept. But even if that was possible she found her greatest joy in her work for others. The etiquette legend of the 19th century goes on and on.

The intriguing part of the legend is that it has little to say about choices. The women our great-grandmothers apparently aspired to be were encompassed by a domestic sphere of strength and grace. Individuality had little in common with success, and independence was a fearful state of mind for which there were vigorous remedies. This "sphere" they monopolized was respected, romanticized, and binding. They were born in it and died in it, few of them ever imagining anything of value for themselves outside of it. Our great-grandmothers were generalizations.

Not one of us believes that she has reared her daughter to be a generalization. But considerable evidence suggests that this is exactly what we are doing, and according to beliefs not much different in design or richer in individual freedom than those that shaped the lives of most of our great-grandmothers. We still have fixed ideas about who women are, what they do well, and what will make them the happiest. We train them to know their talents as society understands them and reward them more for conforming to our expectations of their womanhood than for exploring the world at random. The formal processes of education on which we insist, both secular and religious, tend to support and extend our own conventional wisdom in the matter. The informal world that also educates has a sound, a color, and a style that shouts derisively at the modes of yesteryear. But its messages are strikingly similar.

Career Education for Women: An Opportunity to Change the Theme

If we of the 1970's wish to address ourselves seriously to the question of how we can make choice a reality for our daughters, we must first set aside the assumptions that we bring to the task. One of those assumptions is that women as a group have a particular order of talent. Another is that, given every freedom in personal development, the vast majority of young women will still elect vocations in predictable patterns from a particular spectrum. In addition, we must be willing to seek out information about sex-role stereotyping, detrimental educational tracking, and societal pressures that influence the self-image of the American woman. Then we will be equipped to effect a change.

Addenda to the Legend

There were, as a matter of fact, some dramatic variations on the 19th century etiquette theme. Victorian stolidity was punctuated by dissent and vows of rebellion. Much of it came from women who did not find the sphere to which they were confined either pleasing or natural. If speaking to the point offended fashion or trampled the proprieties, they hastened to the forum. Since most of their utterances challenged the very tenets by which society had defined and governed existence, many of them became focal points for controversy.

Those whose voices were distinct in the debate on women's rights and woman's place, and there were many, had an enormous impact on the sensibilities of their time. For in addition to insistence on basic civil rights and at least average educational opportunity, there arose a cry of protest against the doctrine of "woman's sphere." Mary Wollstonecraft inveighed against all of the writers who had addressed themselves to female education since Rousseau and denounced "the great art of pleasing" as a necessary study. To her, ". . . trifling employments have rendered woman a trifler." The Grimke sisters even dared to insist that the responsibilities of men and women are actually equal. Having left their home in South Carolina, they became devout Quakers and spent their lives writing and speaking in the name of all human rights. In one letter to her sister, Sarah wrote indignantly of women who regard marriage as "the only avenue to distinction" and the development of their intellectual capacities as "a means of filling up the time." Margaret Fuller went so far as to recommend that women find their identity in something other than men.

The American woman's movement gained momentum when a "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" was adopted by an assembly of 300 in Seneca Falls, N.Y., on July 19, 1848. With compelling force, it called for full equality of women under law and social custom. At a National Women's Rights Convention in Cincinnati in 1855, Lucy Stone spoke movingly of the disappointments of woman. "Man," she said, "may hew out for himself a path where no mortal has ever trod, held back by nothing but what is in himself . . . [but if a woman] goes heartily and bravely to give herself to some worthy purpose, she is out of her sphere."

Susan Margot Smith

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, identified by some as the leading woman theorist and writer of the feminist movement, noted cryptically to the New York State Legislature in 1860 that the law "declares husband and wife are one, and learned commentators have decided that that one is the husband." A month later the New York State Married Woman's Property Act became law. It guaranteed to a woman the right to keep her own earnings, the right to equal powers with her husband as joint guardian of their children, and property rights as a widow equal to those her husband would have in the event of her prior death.

Susan B. Anthony, famous for her leadership of the suffrage movement, led 50 women to a polling place in Rochester, N.Y., in 1872. She was promptly arrested, charged with voting illegally, and assessed a fine that she never paid. Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin continued in the tradition of George Sand by attacking the double standards of virtue applied by society to men and women. A public advocate of free love, Woodhull commented pithily on the profession of seduction as practiced by virtuous women:

> It is considered a reproach for a woman to be an "old maid." She must therefore, by all possible means, lure some man into marriage . . . As things are in the world at present, women have not equal chances with men of earning and winning anything . . . A reason why many women make a business–the great pursuit, in fact, of their lives–of the seduction of men.

The richness of the commentary by and about women during these years has yet to be completely explored. Suffice it to say that it uncovered in women intellectual vigor and untapped resources that pain and anger had not subdued.

Yet the prevailing knowledge about the nature of woman competed so successfully with the turbulence of the early feminist movement that even academic histories represent it as little more than a passing shadow on other events of the century. Somehow the message was diverted and folded into the tradition. The rightness of civil equality and educational opportunity gradually penetrated the social conscience and found its way onto the legislative agenda. But the deeper protest against "woman's sphere" lost vitality and voice and was nearly forgotten.

A partial explanation for this phenomenon may be found among the strategies of the conciliatory feminism used so successfully by Sarah Josepha Hale. A widowed mother of five, she has been described both as a militant feminist and a beautiful little woman dressed to look useless. She and the *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, of which she was editor from 1837 to 1877, became famous together. For 40 years they played an enormous role in forming the American woman's idea of what she was like, how she should act, and how she should insist on being treated. *Godey's Lady's Book* appealed to many feminine interests. Its contents ranged from the instructive to the entertaining. A few writers of distinction, like Edgar Allan Poe, made a sort of debut on its pages.

For the most part, however, its literature was sentimental and of indifferent quality. Its real importance was its current opinion on fashion and manners and its discriminating repository of recipes, embroidery patterns, and beauty hints. The essence of silk and curls, *Godey's Lady's Book* strove to edify and elevate the American woman. It argued for her education and encouraged her interest in the useful "avocations" of medical work, teaching, and artistic endeavors.

Sarah Josepha Hale was a woman of energy and admired that quality in others. She also had imagination. But she never believed or thought any lady of breeding believed that woman's power should be exerted in direct competition with men. Whatever the requirements of her personal situation or whatever progress she fanned to life in the woman's movement, Mrs. Hale was never in sympathy with the independent woman. Her articles did not address themselves to the individual woman when aspirations were involved. Aspiration was treated as an abstract virtue or, most radically, as a logical extension of the "sphere." When aspirations were directed into the service of individual development as an end in itself, she greeted them with displeasure and disapproval. She was as far from Mary Wollstonecraft and Virginia Woodhull as they were from the conventions they assailed.

Just before the Civil War, *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* had attained a circulation of nearly 150,000. Through it, Mrs. Hale had much more influence than her controversial and perhaps more brilliant sisters. Her reforms left the traditional value system intact. The ideal women of *Godey's Lady's Book* were gentle doers who created gracious homes and nurturing environments for husbands and children. They had quick and cultivated minds that they used to inspire a man's imagination and train a child to sensitivity. As Sarah Josepha Hale thought of them, education and personal growth in a woman were not antithetical to "woman's sphere."

This was a peaceful compromise that may have made some immediate progress. But it was fraught with a danger that subsequently materialized. It successfully separated questions of social and legal justice from questions of personal identity. In so doing it was able to eschew much of the treatment of women that was clearly unsupportable, while reaffirming one woman's philosophy about woman's role as preserver in a society that was tearing itself apart over the business of change. It made woman the custodian of order and stability without granting her the right to examine what her stance toward order and stability should be. This combination of ideas, over the long view, tended to sustain the theory that woman would always gravitate by the forces of natural inclination to a particular sphere. What we've since forgotten is that "natural inclination" was taught and guided systematically with velvet fists like Mrs. Hale's. If the more radical feminists had been less absorbed with achieving freedom and more dedicated to instruction, our concept of natural inclination might be different today.

Susan Margot Smith

The Legend Brought Forward

The contemporary American woman appears to know no limitation. According to frequently quoted statistics, she is a major consumer, a manipulator of national investments, and an influential hand in the labor force. She chooses her own husband, plans the size of her family, and moves freely in and out of her home. She goes on camping trips, appears at cocktail parties, and takes international passenger flights. She is admitted to baccalaureate work, graduate study, and political life. Sometimes she is your investment counselor or your rabbi. Legislators are restlessly active at her behest, business and educational institutions are rubbing sensitive at her displeasure, and Madison Avenue is rearranging its vocabulary to harmonize with her intentions. If these are the appearances we count, we may well conclude that a legend has yielded to choice and that the American woman is held back by nothing but herself.

If we are going to count appearances, however, we are obliged to count all of them. The articulated dissent of Greer, Millett, and Steinem is not an idiosyncrasy. Women's rallies in San Francisco's Union Square are not sporadic catharses triggered by seasons or storms. The Women's Equity Action League is not a sometimes thing. If the coexistence of woman's apparent freedom and her expressed dissatisfaction seems incomprehensible, perhaps it is because we have yet to understand that movement is not synonymous with freedom and that participation is not clear evidence of opportunity. What the dissenters are saying is that the relationship of the contemporary woman to the world in which she lives is essentially the same as it was a century ago. Only the number of her activities has changed; her sphere really has not been opened.

A glance at the statistical descriptions of the American woman's employment tends to confirm that assessment. The proportion of women in the labor force has increased considerably over the last 25 years, but the great majority of them are concentrated in service areas, clerical positions, and kindred occupations. The percent of females among professional and technical workers is relatively small. In 1970, women constituted only 9 percent of all professionals, 7 percent of all doctors, 3 percent of all lawyers, and 1 percent of engineers. Nine out of 10 elementary school teachers were women, but eight out of 10 school principals were men. Of the 8,750 judges in America in that year, only 300 were women. The median wage for full-time women workers was 58 percent of the median wage for men. Less than 1 percent of women now working earn $10,000 a year or more in comparison to 13 percent of working men. Put simply, it appears that women are still occupied, even in the public sector, by tasks traditionally regarded as appropriate for them. So occupied, they are held outside positions society considers prestigious and worthy of generous remuneration.

Ranging from questions of pay to open violations of civil rights in hiring policies, the cases of employment discrimination listed by women and documented by further investigation are legion. They occur in government, business, private industry, and education, particularly with regard to positions of administrative or instructive leadership. The publicized details of these cases suggest not only that we have certain cultural attitudes about the capacity of women to perform in certain kinds of situations, but that we doggedly resist the entry of women into professions that have become symbols of masculine achievement.

The educational system is a precursor and a companion to this pattern. Girls tend to do better than boys in their high school graduation rates and women who enter college tend to do slightly better than men in graduating 4 years later. But the proportion of women with ability to do work at the college level who graduate is disappointing, and the continuation rate from the baccalaureate to the master's and the doctor's degrees is frankly discouraging. Of the degrees awarded in 1968, women received 42 percent of the bachelor's or first professional degrees, 36 percent of the master's degrees, and 13 percent of the doctoral degrees. However we may choose to explain these figures, their suggestion of attrition presents a disquieting counterpoint to the hymn of progress sung about American woman.

The lower educational and career attainments of women as compared with men at a time in history when we are proud of our educational and occupational opportunity calls for comment. Accidents of personal history and individual taste cannot explain what can only be described as a trend of unfinished performance. And too many female voices are joined in contrary assertion to allow us to persist in any theory of "natural inclination." Definitive research about women is still in its infancy. The data that have been collected about behavior, motivation, and aspiration, while highly provocative, are still first indicators. Nevertheless, we can make some linear organization of our observations about the social history of the girl-child and say much about the fabric of expectation and pressure in which we have wrapped her.

Children, we are told by psychologists, have a sexual identity that expresses sex-role understanding by the time they enter kindergarten. At the age of 4 they are able to classify activities as masculine or feminine and to attach some idea of "worth" and "appropriateness" to each. Girls learn early to seek protection. Boys learn to look for adventure. Both know that good manners and obedience are less flexible requirements for girls than they are for boys; both know that boys are expected to be active and sometimes unruly.

The storybook world paints these first understandings in vivid colors. Most of us take for granted the fact that Jack climbed the beanstalk while Miss Muffet sat on her tuffet, that real princesses cannot sleep on peas without damage, and that Snow White awakened only to the kiss of a prince. We remember with fondness the comfortable mommies or the helping ladies like nurses and librarians in our Golden Books. In our prettiest book a fair princess was destined to live happily ever after. What we have not consciously noticed is that girls appear in these stories only about 20 to 30 percent of the time, that five times as many males as females are in the titles of children's books, and that most of the animals who populate the books are male. Moreover, that brave little tugboat, the hardy train chugging up the mountain, and the carefree sailboat all belong to "his" fraternity of the sturdy and courageous. It is small wonder that the self-image of the little girl shrinks into doubt and partial effacement and that the imitative games of childhood observe a sex-stereotyped hierarchy in the make-believe of work, domesticity, and romance.

Most girls arrive at adolescence with the foreknowledge that men are somehow superior, that tomboys are neither boys nor girls, and that the most popular girls are delighted audiences and cautious flirts. The homecoming queen, the cheerleader, the leading lady in the class play are the denizens of the teen-age female's image world. The academic tendency of girls toward English and the foreign languages and the interest of boys in mathematics and science are not only anticipated by counselors, they are expected of girls and boys by the society of their peers. The ethos of competition is confused by the general desire to be popular, but here, too, there are rules. Boys learn early to engage in competition for its own sake to achieve and reaffirm their masculine identity. Girls learn to subdue or to avoid competition lest it erode the substance of their feminine identity.

High school counselors report that the vocational plans of girls are frequently dim or unimaginative. Many who express an excited interest in college between the ages of 11 and 15 lean back into aims generally below their abilities by their junior or senior years in high school. Many girls interested in occupational planning tend to simulate their eventual domesticity in occupations like nursing or teaching. For most girls, an occupation outside the home is viewed as an interim thing while they arrange the future they have learned to anticipate. When the achievement-oriented teen-ager believes that her ultimate personal attainment is femininity and that her real fulfillment will be found in marriage and motherhood, she is unlikely to be responsive to variations in that future. She has been urged by social pressure and educational suggestion toward the belief that marriage is a desirable inevitability for which the whole world is planning with her. How can she think otherwise when a popular magazine for teen-age girls advertises bedroom furniture for the school girl that is guaranteed to adapt to the master bedroom of matrimony?

The college women of the 1970's are rich in original and distinctive qualities. Their application materials breathe a sense of individuality and speak of personal choices. Many of them display unusual notions of what may lie before them. Some are frankly interested in college as a place for meeting eligible men or as an opportunity to choose between alternate life styles. Some have a vague sense that a bachelor's degree will somehow prepare them for whatever choice they might make someday. Others have plans that will carry them into graduate schools and professional careers. What almost all of them have is a feeling of pressure to come to terms with the meaning and the requirements of womanhood as they understand society to define it. In this, we give them little help. For even in this framework of support for new interpretations of reality, reformulations of old ideas, and discovery of personal definition, they confront a pantheon of pressures and assumptions simply because they are women.

For the woman who begins under the pressure of searching for a commitment to marriage, the problems are obvious. Identity is increasingly found through success in relationships with men. Every day a new lesson is learned about how vigorous she can afford to be in debate, how tenacious in disagreement, how active in aspiration, and how obvious in ambition, without being destructive to her central goal. For the woman who has a specific occupational or professional focus, the innuendos of the feminine mystique are no less pressing. The taboos against competing with men influence choice of subject matter, selection of area interests, and scholastic performance. The early tactic of camouflaging ability develops into a steady resistance to success as the need to protect femininity becomes stronger. One researcher discusses this "motive" to avoid success and describes its characteristics and the tactics it inspires. The most sobering aspect of the findings is that the girls who fear success the most often give evidence of keen intellectual ability and outstanding academic achievement. The sadness of the observation as a whole is that instead of helping college women with the psychological and circumstantial barriers that they confront, we overlook them or work around them with the apparent assumption that some things are generically inevitable.

In sum, there is little evidence that the educational system of the 20th century effectively disbelieves in 19th century assumptions about the talents and the limitations of womanhood. Where it does not actively participate in the socialization process, it lends tacit agreement to the steady process beyond its immediate environment. From kindergarten through graduate school, we still rear women according to the subliminal precepts of Sarah Josepha Hale and her gentle doers. We cultivate their imaginations, sharpen their intellects, nurture their pride in success, and offer them one model for emulation. That model, whether implicitly or explicitly described, is still understood to be the gentle director whose finest contribution to any endeavor is the influence of peace. For the sensitive woman of ability who has a desire to reach out for personal opportunity and action of a new design, the conflict is intense.

We should not be surprised, then, that so many women find it easier to accept our assumptions about their "natural inclinations" than to battle with us for the fulfillment of things within them of which they are only partially aware.

Susan Margot Smith

Toward Changing the Theme

No one formula for change exists because it is a dynamic process that we are attempting to encounter. But there are some trends we must create and others we must interrupt if we're to invade the educational and vocational malaise of so many contemporary women. At the very least, we must dispel the disappointment and overcome the resignation that so frequently dominates their inner world. To do so we must reorder their self-images to exclude the shadow of inferiority and renew their belief in personal choice. We must help them analyze the sexual stereotypes they hold and educate them to face the processes of conditioning to which we are all subjected. Above all, we must encourage them to grow conscious of themselves as women with many facets who have futures full of options.

Faded blue jeans are no less the symbol of a generalization than a lace collar. We cannot afford to ignore the needs of our daughters simply because their confinement does not resemble our own.

T. Anne Cleary, Executive Director of Examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board, has made substantial contributions to research in the fields of guidance and educational testing.

Dr. Cleary views Career Education with cautious optimism. She is concerned with the practical problems involved in career planning and the enormous burden that matching students with careers will present the guidance counselor and the classroom instructor. Dr. Cleary warns that enthusiasts are attributing many benefits to Career Education that either are inherent in *all* good educational programs or difficult to realize in any public school situation. However, she feels that attempts will be made to improve existing guidance services to include a large measure of occupational counseling. Improvements such as these will be positive outcomes of Career Education even in the event that the movement as a whole falls short of its goals.

New Directions for Career Planning

T. Anne Cleary

Certain purposes of schools—literacy, socialization, rudimentary training for citizenship, custodial care to the age of independence—are so generally accepted that controversy about them exists mainly with respect to matters of detail. Others—social reform, religious training, promotion of health and physical development—are matters of some dispute *per se*.

The obligation of the schools to prepare students for jobs is in the latter class, for although Americans are a notoriously pragmatic people, they have never been entirely convinced that practical problems should be dealt with by formal instruction. The early schools arose more from a fear of the Devil than from any conviction that "scholarship could make the fields fruitful."

Still, it is mainly those whose economic lives are comfortably provided for elsewhere who do not want the schools to be closely connected to getting money. A majority of Americans see vocational competence as a chief reason for having schools.[1] This is especially true of those whose incomes are low. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in the constant restless process of reviewing and revising American education, reading, discipline, good citizenship, scientific achievement and a dozen other themes have sometimes been emphasized, but preparing students to make a living has come around even more regularly as something the schools have got to attend to more vigorously and effectively.

Current interest in what is being called "Career Education" is possibly the strongest return to the vocational theme since the 1930's when the Great Depression made jobs the preoccupation of every class. It is impossible to identify a single authoritative definition and programmatic outline of Career Education. It is being discussed widely with differing emphases and degrees of complexity and sophistication. Its meaning has been explained in public statements by Sidney P. Marland, Jr., and it has begun to appear as a key program topic at most educational meetings.

To some extent, the movement is political and counter-revolutionary—an attempt to reassert the "work ethic" and other moral values of 19th-century capitalism. It is clearly a reaction against such popular post-World War II educational movements as general education and the Sputnik-inspired curriculum reform efforts in secondary education which were academically oriented

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and associated with the theme of "excellence." But it is best viewed as an attempt to reorganize the entire school program around a dominant idea that will affect all levels and all major disciplines in the schools.

The Scope of Career Education

Career Education is intended to be much broader in scope than vocational education has been. It is intended to affect every student and to embrace the entire range of the school system. It is not necessary to believe with some of its advocates that "Career Education is preparation for all meaningful and productive activity, at work or at leisure, whether paid or volunteer, as employee or employer, in private business or in the public sector, or in the family"[2] to understand that Career Education is proposed as a major curriculum reform. It is a direct challenge to what have been called "humanistic" conceptions of education.

Career Education would place orientation to economic life at the center of the school program beginning in the earliest years. There would be study of information about occupations in the elementary school, together with activities designed to develop positive attitudes toward work and achievement. The entire community would be involved more fully than is now common in schools. Work-study opportunities would be vigorously developed. Every student would be pressed to select a vocational field and begin specific preparation for it during the secondary years. The division of the secondary school curriculum into vocational, college preparatory, and general curricula, which is now rather common, particularly in urban systems, would be abandoned.

In one U.S. Office of Education model, all occupations would be grouped in 15 "clusters" for study in the lower grades. In junior high school the student would select three of these clusters for intensive exploration. In senior high school he would choose one cluster and would develop sufficient skill in a single occupation to qualify for a job. All students would have some actual work experience while still in school, but they would retain options to change vocational objectives or go on to higher education.

Guidance would begin early and would be highly efficient and specific. Counselors would "become job market analysts with a touch of clairvoyance. They [would] need to know what job opportunities are likely to be available locally, statewide, and nationwide 5 to 10 years hence in order to steer youngsters into promising fields."[3]

Finally, schools would establish placement services to find jobs for graduates and would be responsible for adult education and the retraining of older workers to a greater degree than they are now.

T. Anne Cleary

The Need For Career Education

The strongest initiative for the new Career Education movement has been taken by the U.S. Office of Education, but it comes at a time when a number of recent events have made educators across the nation amenable to suggestions for reform:

1. Unemployment has once again become large enough to call attention to the sheer necessity of getting and keeping an income. Jobs have always been a serious issue for ethnic minorities, and the increased attention to the problem of blacks, Spanish-Americans, and American Indians during the 1960's has helped to emphasize the importance of vocational success. But perhaps even more impressive has been the sudden unemployment of middle-aged engineers and the apparent unemployability of new Ph.D.'s. There is a glut of elementary teachers and, indeed, of teachers of most subjects at most levels. The ground has been cut from under the young who were allowed to believe that going to work would be no problem, if it finally came to that, and even that the population could be largely supported from the productivity of automated machinery if a few political rearrangements were made.

2. The sudden and powerful increase in the number and proportion of young people entering college programs after World War II has apparently run its course for the time being and has created new problems in many directions. From 1900 to 1950 the proportion of high school graduates going on to college remained very close to 50 percent in good times and bad with, of course, a steady increase in the absolute number of college students arising from growth in the youth population and from increasing high school graduation rates. Just after World War II this established relationship between high school diplomas and college students was upset as veterans and children of veterans began to enter college in unprecedented numbers so that the proportion of high school graduates entering college rose to about 60 percent in the 1960's. With higher birthrates in the post-war years and increasing high school graduation rates, college enrollments more than tripled from 1950 to 1970.

This growth in demand for college spaces created enormous pressures for expansion of existing colleges and for the creation of new institutions. Nearly 1,000 new postsecondary institutions were founded between 1947 and 1970.[4] Private institutions expanded–many of them unwisely as it now appears–but the principal effect was the creation of new public institutions, especially junior colleges, and the rapid growth of public colleges and universities already in existence. There also arose a great demand for financial aid to support students while they filled these new spaces. This demand, when added to the cost of creating and maintaining the more numerous and larger institutions, has created a major financial crisis throughout all of higher education. The result, especially in state legislatures, has been serious questioning of the effectiveness of higher education as well as demands for efficiency, productivity, and accountability. The idea that the nation is moving toward universal higher education, which was so popular in the educational conferences of a decade ago, is heard less frequently. But even more important, the benefits of education are increasingly evaluated in terms of occupational and financial advantage. It is no accident that this is the year in which a university professor has gained national notice by publishing a book which purports to show that education does not produce financial rewards.[5]

3. The opening of college spaces for ethnic minorities, working class youth, and other previously excluded groups has shown that the simple provision of college spaces does not solve the life problems of these students. For a long time excluded groups were seen being held back primarily by problems of prejudice, money, and motivation, there being a general assumption that sheer access to places in higher institutions would wipe out the disadvantages suffered by populations characterized by poverty and low status. Although problems of access remain far from solved, enough experience has been gained to show that short-term remedial instruction in college does not always equip these newly admitted students to deal successfully with conventional institutions. Further, the liberal arts and general education models that have facilitated the development of upper middle class youth fairly well in the past have been questioned by the new populations on both cultural and utilitarian grounds.

4. Cultural and social changes of mysterious origin have led all young people—not just ethnic minorities—and a good proportion of their elders as well, to challenge the appropriateness of both the content and the structure of American education. Questions are being raised about the entire complex of arrangements whereby credentials based on formal study for fixed amounts of time regulate appointment and advancement. Science, which dominated even non-scientific enterprises a decade ago, is in something close to disgrace. Grading, testing, teacher tenure, required courses, survey courses, departmental majors, dress regulations, graduation exercises, single-sex institutions, parietal rules, investment policies—there is no element of established educational practice that is not being universally challenged.

Under these circumstances, the response of established institutions has been to introduce change. Some of this change is superficial and some of it is confused, but there can be no doubt that sufficient uprooting has taken place to create a favorable climate for coherent and broadly-based new organizing ideas and approaches.

5. The special field of educational guidance is particularly open to fundamental reconstruction, since of all school services, guidance is especially "student centered" and therefore especially sensitive to the changing values and aspirations of youth. At the same time, guidance theory and practice are inherently a part of the old system that is being challenged.

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Guidance is commonly said to have originated early in the 20th century in vocational counseling. It has always been particularly concerned with student choice of courses, colleges, and careers, even though it has at various times been strongly influenced by concern for mental health and social and personal adjustment. At the present time the breakdown in acceptance of established structures and procedures in education has especially affected the guidance function and all those who have much to do with it. As it happens, this crisis comes just at a time when much of the ideological and conceptual underpinning of the guidance movement is wearing out. Trait-factor theory with its connections to psychometrics, psychoanalytic personality theory and, indeed, all individual-oriented therapy, the "life adjustment" approach to education, and the *in loco parentis* definition of the relationship of adults to youth in schools have all passed rapidly out of favor in recent years. By choice or by necessity, guidance officers have lost their power to control youth (e.g., by recommending or not recommending them for college) at the same time that their expertise and professional ability to be helpful have been called into question. All this has taken place in an era when the number of guidance officers actually employed in the schools has increased 400 percent in 20 years. There can be little doubt that any powerful reorganization of education that provided for guidance a stable and effective role would be well received.

Enthusiasts for Career Education will undoubtedly attempt to make it seem to meet all these and many other uncomfortable conditions that confront the schools and society. It is unlikely that they will wholly succeed. For one thing, the aspirations of youth and the trends enumerated above contain numerous contradictions as well as fads, false trails, and confusions of fact. For another, Career Education as an idea, however broadly it may be stretched, represents only one perspective on life, and the schools are forced to deal with all the other possible ones as well. This is not a fatal flaw in the idea of Career Education; indeed it is probably a strength since relative narrowness of focus may give the movement a coherence that is needed. At the same time, it is important to sort out the areas in which Career Education is most likely to have the greatest and most desirable effects.

Prospects for Success

There are certain characteristics of ideal educational practice that are so obviously desirable and so difficult to attain that almost any proposal for reform will claim them as unique advantages of the new system being advocated. They are being presented as advantages of Career Education. The fact is that they are highly desirable in any program but they are also so difficult to accomplish that any program absolutely requiring them for success is probably doomed to failure. These characteristics are: (1) individualization of treatment, (2) continuity of instruction, (3) integration of experience, (4) intrinsic motivation of the learner, and (5) closure.

Individualization of Treatment

Everyone who has tried to think about schools systematically has come upon the fact that the individuals in any school, grade, classroom or seminar remain different from one another no matter how the set is selected or grouped. Individuals attend to different things at different times, respond to different stimuli, work in different ways and advance at different rates. It becomes obvious that education would probably proceed best if teachers had the skill and the opportunity to attend to these individual differences. Unfortunately, the extent to which individualization is achieved depends largely upon class size and perhaps, to some small degree, upon teacher training and supervision. (The exotic case of computer-assisted instruction is the exception.) Individualization is not a unique characteristic of Career Education or of any other practical plan for the conduct of the schools, nor can it be a necessary condition of such plans.

Continuity of Instruction

It is very clear that the attainment of any important educational objective requires pursuit of the objective across a number of years and is best achieved if later instruction is related to what happened earlier. The difficulty is that both students and teachers move around, and the problem of communicating, even with oneself, across time is so great that the degree of continuity called for in most planning is simply unattainable. No school can function—certainly no public school of any size can function—on the premise of a rigidly sequential arrangement of instruction. Career Education will undoubtedly be done best where continuity is best achieved, but this is not a unique characteristic of Career Education nor can it be a necessary one. If the country were to have a single school curriculum, directed from Washington, continuity would be easier to achieve, but, of course, there would be some concomitant disadvantages.

Integration of Experience

The notion of isolated disciplines presented in hermetically sealed 40-minute periods is anathema to almost every educator. Even the briefest consideration of learning suggests that things discussed in the morning be related to those discussed in the afternoon, that work be related to study, and study to play, and that in general everything be connected to everything else. There are enormous practical impediments to achieving this ideal but the attempt will be made wherever good schools exist. Career Education will present certain obvious opportunities to relate theoretical and practical experience, in-school instruction and out-of-school activity. This is a desirable practice but not an intrinsic advantage of organizing schools around Career Education.

Intrinsic Motivation of the Learner

Teachers find, with only a little experience, that the inert learner is a contradiction in terms. Necessary activity on the part of the student can be secured by offering rewards, inspiring fear, creating anxiety and other means, but everyone concerned is best satisfied and learning seems to proceed most rapidly when the learner somehow becomes fundamentally interested in the subject of study. Good teachers are always trying to develop this intrinsic interest. Quite often this is done by relating abstract or remote material to the students' daily lives as far as that is possible. Adolescent athletes in Latin class are given assignments about gladiators or are set to building models of Roman engines of war. Career Education, especially with older students, will speak to real anxieties they have about themselves and the future and will offer the ingenious teacher or administrator excellent but not unprecedented opportunities to capture the interest of students. Again, though, it is not entirely certain that this will happen nor is it uniquely true that organization of a school program around attention to careers will guarantee it.

Closure

Just as almost all educational planning calls for individualization, continuity, integration and intrinsic motivation, it is inevitable that all such plans should seek some signs of successful completion of the job. To a certain extent, this is unrealistic or at least artificial, since lives are seamless and can be brought to a stopping point prematurely only as an administrative fiction. Nevertheless, no one is willing to work for reform on the basis that he will simply facilitate the student's development until graduation day and then hope for the best. Like everyone else, proponents of Career Education seek closure–specific objectives that can be accomplished by definite dates. They want to be sure that the student has gotten somewhere before he leaves the system. To the extent that this reflects a desire that the student be doing something definite and positive with the time he spends in school, it is praiseworthy. The condemnation of the "general" curriculum of urban high school programs, which is so common now, is richly deserved if, as is claimed, these curriculums have been simply holding areas where nothing happens to all the students for whom no reasonable plans have been made. As we shall note later, Career Education does seem to focus attention upon the importance of planning in ways that many other possible orientations of the school do not. But it is doubtful that closure will be any more perfectly achieved or is only more necessary under this than under any other arrangement. The desire that every student leave school with occupational competence will be much like the desire that every student leave school prepared for college or with an understanding of the heritage of Western civilization. Some will do so more than others, but the day after graduation they will all be 18 and still developing.

The Effects of Career Education

If, then, Career Education shares but does not uniquely originate the fundamental aspirations of most educational planning, what is likely to be its contribution to the improvement of the schools? For one thing it will probably lead to improvement in conventional vocational education, simply by giving increased attention and greater financial support to this somewhat neglected part of the high school program. Presumably an era of emphasis on Career Education is apt to increase the number of students involved in the vocational "department" of the high schools, increase the flow of qualified teachers and stimulate research and curriculum change in vocational programs. But this is still an effect reaching a minority of students and as such is certainly not what Career Education as a movement aims for.

The most likely general effect would seem to be that Career Education will force attention to systematic and sustained planning as a central activity of the student in the curriculum and, thus, will rejuvenate and greatly enlarge what is now called the "guidance" function of the schools.

There is probably no satisfactory systematic study of the extent to which educational and career planning for students takes place in American schools. The importance of occupational and educational planning has been recognized in schools for generations and there is little doubt that in smaller communities and in earlier times a fair amount of helpful advice was given to youth by teachers, principals, coaches and even janitors, without such advice ever being scheduled as part of the school program. The usual current practice, however, is to designate planning as a responsibility of the formal guidance services, with generally unsatisfactory results.

Guidance Practices Criticized

Willingham has recently summarized the literature of complaint about current practice with respect to career guidance.[6] He lists the following concerns:

1. There is too much emphasis on one-to-one counseling;
2. Counselors are not adequately trained and lack the specialized knowledge to perform the many diverse tasks involved in educational and occupational counseling;
3. Counselors have limited authority and relatively low status in school systems;
4. Career guidance is a minor commitment of most counselors who prefer personal counseling and guidance for college;
5. There is too much emphasis on guidance for college, non-college bound students receive insufficient attention, and college guidance is largely restricted to selection of institutions with little consideration of career implications;
6. Counselors spend most of their time on administrative, clerical, and disciplinary duties;
7. Guidance is often regarded as a costly fringe service which is usually undersupported and is subject to cuts in times of economic stress;
8. Guidance services as now constituted lack relevance and practical value;
9. Present guidance programs tend to focus on adding to general happiness–they lack specific realistic goals;
10. Available occupational information is inadequate and uninteresting to students;
11. Counselors are isolated from the rest of the school staff, vocational guidance is given in bits and pieces, and vocational and academic guidance are given separately;
12. Counselors have insufficient understanding of the special needs of ethnic minorities.

Proposals for Reform

Whatever the exact validity of these complaints as applied to any particular school system, they are commonplace and are ills which an emphasis on Career Education would attempt to remedy. By making educational and vocational planning a central function of the schools with responsibilities assigned broadly to school personnel, including classroom teachers and chief administrators, Career Education would insure that many of these presumed weaknesses of current guidance would be attacked, if not resolved. By giving attention to work-related issues in the early grades and by forcing greater specificity of choice in the high school through the elimination of the general curriculum,

New Directions for Career Planning

Career Education would make it difficult to evade a direct confrontation with the difficulties of good vocational planning. However, the difficulties would remain.

Difficulties

Some of the present drawbacks to career planning in the school are structural in nature. That is, there are inadequate resources and inferior organization to get the job done. Presumably, difficulties can be remedied by increased resources and new attention to organization if the idea of Career Education can capture a sufficient share of the administrative and budgetary resources of the schools to divert from other purposes the people and materials needed. Obviously, a considerable amount of retraining of existing staff, as well as large amounts of new teaching material, will be required.

Measuring aptitudes for specific occupations. However, much of the problem is caused by our basic inability thus far to create and disseminate the knowledge necessary to do the things that are wanted. In the first place, we have failed to produce those means of appraising vocational aptitude and interests that once seemed almost within our grasp. This is a matter of at least two massive failures–the psychometric failure to develop instruments to assist vocational choice and planning, and the educational failure to produce a body of trained professionals in the schools who understand and can use such tests as do exist.

All vocational guidance plans, whether part of the new Career Education proposals or not, lean heavily on an assumption that, since students vary and job requirements also vary, some kind of measurement of both students and job requirements will yield evidence upon which a "fit" between student and occupation can be established. Certain examples of this model are so commonplace that it has been easy to assume that it could be generalized. For example, a relatively small proportion of students show both an aptitude and a liking for the study of mathematics, and this characteristic is likely to emerge fairly early in the school career. Since mathematics is absolutely essential to high level achievement in engineering and science, students with ability in mathematics are rather easily directed toward scientific vocations; and, *especially*, students who do not like mathematics are easily declared unfit for science and vaguely directed elsewhere. Similarly, what are called the learned professions, requiring extensive graduate study, rather clearly require students of superior general scholastic ability or verbal aptitude so it has been easy to identify numerous cases of individuals who should be particularly encouraged or discouraged from aspiring to the more demanding occupations. Unfortunately, even these rough classification principles are very rare and affect only a minority of students.

Other somewhat more numerous vocational traits—dentists should have finger dexterity and architects good spatial perception—are measurable and valid as far as they go but turn out to be such a small part of the total occupational requirement configuration that they do not provide a valid practical basis either for inclusion or exclusion of students in vocational exploration and planning.

In the early days of testing, it was hoped and even confidently expected that the analysis of human abilities would yield a variety of relatively independent abilities (factors) that could be measured and then related to jobs and other significant environments in a way that could facilitate student decisionmaking. Enormous amounts of work have gone into this area over many years, but it must be accounted a major disappointment in 20th-century psychology. There are, of course, many aptitude batteries available in well-designed forms conforming to good standards of test construction. But aside from verbal and mathematical ability—the two parts of what is often called scholastic aptitude—these multiple batteries have failed almost totally to be usefully related to vocational success, and, especially, to be helpful in assisting student planning.

Determining occupational requirements. Part of the problem lies in the complexity of jobs. Often jobs which seem to have the same general characteristics and may have the same names, are revealed by very careful study to have totally different requirements in terms of both levels and kinds of ability. The hope that broad categories of ability could be related to large groups of occupations does not turn out very well in practice. The school counselor who wanted to be genuinely helpful to students in differentiating among various fields of work would require enormous quantities of specific validity information connecting tests to jobs. This information is not now available and probably never can be made available.

Furthermore, beyond basic verbal and mathematical ability, no basic aptitudes seem to have been demonstrably important in such a wide variety of jobs that psychologists could justify testing for such data and making it available to students. The most general finding of the relation of ability tests to jobs in business and industry is that verbal and mathematical ability can sometimes predict success for training purposes but that no ability tests predict success on the job, even when measured just before job entry.

In short, the guidance counselor equipped with a battery of scores from differential ability tests and charged with the responsibility of advising students about choice of careers is apt to find himself helpless to give really useful and sensible advice. Even worse, he will be greatly tempted to make *ad hoc* intuitive assumptions about the relationship between tests and careers that are actually erroneous.

Making practice conform to promise. Current Career Education proposals tend to deal with this difficulty by making the vocational planning process long, with varieties of exploration of both personal and vocational characteristics including on-the-job trials of the most promising fields of work. This is probably the best solution under the circumstances, but it is important to understand the nature of the effort required. No student is likely to survey genuinely all the options theoretically open to him. He is likely to give necessarily long exploration to one or a few areas he has picked in a much more haphazard way than any advocate of Career Education has yet admitted.

The question of counselor and teacher competence to carry out the vocational planning job is equally difficult. Career Education requires specialized teaching and counseling by classroom teachers as well as by guidance personnel. There is scarcely any way to exaggerate the difficulty of this requirement. In spite of the long development of psychological tests for use in schools and of theories of guidance that require skilled interpretation of tests by counselors, there is very little doubt that few counselors have developed specialized competence in appraisal of young people. This is a difficult point to prove, but it is a matter of "common knowledge" that is far too important to ignore simply because there is no conclusive scientific evidence to prove it. Leo Goldman, who has trained counselors in the New York City schools for many years, recently wrote:

> As for counselors, the first thing they need to do as a profession is to decide whether they are going to be responsible for testing. If so, they'll just have to find some way to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills. If they decide (as well they might) that this is just not their cup of tea, then they might do everyone a better service by publicly acknowledging this fact and proposing a better way for assessment to be done—perhaps by assessment specialists, a possibility that Mathewson long ago foresaw.[7]

At about the same time Jules Grosswold, of the Philadelphia public schools, wrote:

> A look at personnel reveals that our colleges, graduate schools and school systems seem to have done little in preparing teachers, counselors and administrators [in] how to use measurement effectively. Currently testing is still perceived as being outside of their realm rather than a significant process germane to their tasks.[8]

Although there is comparatively little attention to specific problems of formal testing in most current discussions of Career Education, skill in pupil evaluation through the use of tests in addition to other very complex skills not previously included in teacher training, is implicit in virtually all such proposals. Without being totally pessimistic about the possibility of developing these competencies in school personnel, it is important to recognize the size and difficulty of the task.

It will not be easy either to correct or to evade the implications of these problems, but with enough emphasis much can be done. Students can develop considerable ability in self-appraisal and counselors who have not learned very well how to make decisions for students can find new careers in helping students learn how to make decisions for themselves.

But there is yet another problem which must be addressed with a great deal more vigor than ever before and with no certainty of success. That is the problem of occupational information. In spite of the very long history of development of occupational classification and description, including the very considerable volume of work issuing from the U.S. Department of Labor, it is not now possible for the schools to insure that students be sufficiently acquainted with vocational possibilities to make intelligent choices. Obviously a major part of the curriculum will have to be devoted to providing this information if Career Education is to fulfill its own requirements. But the volume of information to be disseminated is enormous. The current U.S. Employment Service *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*[9] gives definitions of more than 20,000 different occupations. The U.S. Department of Labor's *Career Facts* describes more than 400 careers requiring education beyond the high school.[10] A current encyclopedia of vocational guidance contains articles describing 650 specific jobs.[11] A Department of Labor publication lists 79 occupations that have formal apprenticeship programs.[12]

Of course there are ways of organizing this extremely complex mass of material so as to reduce the problem for students. But there can be no doubt that the acceptance of learning about occupations as a major obligation of the schools involves major amounts of time and resources.

Beyond that, there is the problem of keeping occupational information up-to-date and of making accurate estimates of the labor market. Neither of these necessary jobs has been done very well in the past, and it is not possible to be optimistic about the future even supposing there will be a large commitment of resources earmarked for the task. There is no reason to believe that forecasting the labor market 5 to 10 years ahead is possible even for single industries or local areas.

There is, of course, considerable new and promising activity aimed at using computers to summarize and make available accurate data with respect to the *current* job market. When fully developed, and especially when there are vigorously directed work-study programs in high schools, these systems may improve greatly the control of labor supply for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in manufacturing and for clerical and sub-professional openings in service industries. But this is manpower management and has little to do with the guidance of, say, ninth-grade girls.

Conclusion

What, then, can we consider the most promising new directions for career planning? Even if Career Education is taken to mean quite simply (1) a strengthening of vocational education, (2) a considerable increase in emphasis on vocational planning (beginning earlier and involving a wide variety of school personnel with much greater resources than ever before), and, (3) attention by the school to certain job-related auxiliary services such as placement and retraining of adults, there are very serious practical problems to be overcome.

However, given relatively modest objectives and larger resources, Career Education could promote significant improvements in career planning. In spite of the lack of adequate tools for expert appraisal of individuals and the difficulties of securing good occupational information and labor market forecasts, the reorientation of career development theory by Super and others[13] beginning in the 1950's has led to the recognition of occupational planning as a long developmental process involving increasing vocational maturation and emphasizing self-appraisal and conscious development of skills and decision-making. This perspective puts the counselor in the position of manager and coordinator of the resources available to the student for the planning process rather than the expert who "sizes up" the student and makes recommendations about career choice. Career Education, by calling attention to this new perspective and bringing adequate resources to support it, can make for real improvement in the vocational planning of students at every level.

The Career Education movement is also stimulating what may turn out to be lasting improvement in the materials available for the planning process. Teaching units, work books, and model programs are being developed and tried in local school systems and in state departments across the country. A number of major projects to develop materials have been launched in university centers, experimentation with computer applications has accelerated and, in general, there is every reason to believe that materials for planning are going to be much better than they have been. This will give some point to the proposed increase in curriculum time and teacher effort devoted to Career Education.

There are other promising developments in the changing educational scene that are likely to support the Career Education idea although they do not derive from it. The idea of credit-by-examination as a means for the educational reentry of older persons is becoming firmly established. Further, this idea seems to be rapidly generalizing to the concept of credit-by-examination for everyone. This movement, if it lasts, will greatly support work-study programs and the idea of lifelong career planning and development, which is so important in Career Education proposals.

The enormous development of community and junior colleges during the past 2 decades, with flexible and informal programs of access and with vocational programs of varied length often closely related to the local job market, has demonstrated that Career Education concepts are not only practical but possible. There is no doubt that planning in the elementary and secondary grades for articulation and use of these junior college resources and models has been inadequate in the past and can be improved.

But any educational proposal must be realistically evaluated in terms of the corruptions it invites. Career Education, as a broad vision of education and indeed of life, faces many difficulties and invites many misinterpretations. Indeed, if it is ever seriously undertaken, it is likely to fail very quickly. At the very least, Career Education as a total reorganization of the school program needs to be much more fully and exactly explained and debated than it has been.

But one major accomplishment may already be under way—the rejuvenation of guidance programs. There will be great difficulties, but with additional resources for Career Education becoming available, some real progress toward helping every student plan for his future seems possible.

Footnotes

1. The recent (fourth annual) Gallup Poll of American Attitudes Toward Education reports that in a national sample of 1,6[illegible]4 adults who were asked to name the principal reasons why children should attend school, 44 percent mentioned "to get a better job," and 38 percent responded "to make more money."
2. Kenneth B. Hoyt, et al., *Career Education. What It Is and How To Do It* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1972), p. 2.
3. S.P. Marland, Jr., "America's Need for Career Education," *Occupational Outlook Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Summer, 1972) : 4
4. American Council on Education, *New Academic Institutions: A Survey* (Washington: The Council, 1972), p. 1.
5. Christopher Jenks, *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972).
6. Warren W. Willingham, *A Review of Career Guidance in Secondary Education* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1972), pp. 12-14.
7. "Tests and Counseling: The Marriage That Failed," *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance* IV, no. 4 (January 1972) : 21[illegible].
8. "Testing Perspectives in the Large Cities" *NCME Measurement News* XIV, no. 2 (April 1971) : 3.
9. 3d ed., 2 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965).
10. Charles Adams and Samaria Kimball, *Career Facts* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1966).
11. William A. Hopke, *The Encyclopedia of Careers and Vocational Guidance*, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967).
12. U.S. Department of Labor, *Apprentice Training: Sure Way to a Skilled Craft* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970).
13. Donald Super, et al., *Career Development: Self-Concept Theory*, Research Monograph No. 4 (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1963).

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Dr. Gordon advocates educating for living rather than educating solely for earning a living. He believes that Career Education planning must take into account a world of the future which will differ markedly from the world of today. He emphasizes the new skills which will be demanded of future citizens and the need for educators to plan curriculum with these requirements in mind. One of the most significant changes will be an increase in leisure time for which planning must begin now.

Broadening the Concept of Career Education

Edmund W. Gordon

In a paper that has reached much too limited an audience, Sidney P. Marland, Jr. makes an eloquent plea for the expansion and enhancement of the comprehensive high school to insure that all young people leave the secondary school with generic competence in general education and specific mastery of some area of vocational education.

The paper speaks primarily to the need for the development of assessment instruments and procedures by which such competence and mastery may be measured and recorded. However, it is in this paper that Dr. Marland uses the term "career entry" to refer to the transition from the truly comprehensive high school to post high school study and/or work.

Implicit in the paper is a concern for the achievement of a high degree of symmetry in the attention given to intellectual and vocational development. Both are seen as crucial elements in the educational process; the latter, however, traditionally has been given second-class status. The opportunities for the schools to reward wider varieties of talent, to develop curriculums that have greater relevance for a wider range of pupils, and concurrently to contribute to the Nation's pool of trained labor are given emphasis. It is out of this kind of thinking that the current interest in Career Education, also given impetus by Dr. Marland, has emerged.

Three factors, however, have contributed to a prevailing view of Career Education that is too narrow. First, we traditionally have considered all basic education that includes vocational skill mastery as a specific goal to be vocational education. Second, in an effort to give greater status to preparation for work, the employability potential of the students in a Career Education program has been overemphasized. Third, the traditional reservations held by academicians for anything that smacks of vocational education has enabled experts in vocational education to preempt early developments in the emergence of Career Education.

In the review of much of the contemporary thinking relative to Career Education, one finds a heavy emphasis given to concern for vocational education and development. As recently as 1971, in searching the Educational Index for references to Career Education, one is referred to vocational education as if the terms are synonymous. In some discussions of the concept, Career Education takes on different meanings depending on the level of schooling at which it is introduced. For example, in the primary grades Career Education would involve introduction to some of the categories of work experience available in the immediate community; in the middle grades youngsters are likely to be exposed to practitioners from various occupational areas. Also at that level some attention might be given to attitudes toward work with exposure to some of the tools and instruments associated with various occupations. In high school youngsters would be expected to master the skills of at least one marketable occupation.

Some efforts have been made to broaden the concept to include college-bound as well as noncollege-bound pupils. In this scheme it is proposed that effort be directed at the achievement of competencies in the content of general education as well as mastery of a marketable skill. Graduates of such programs (much like the comprehensive high school) could go on to college, gain admission to technical institutes, or enter the labor force. In each of these prevailing concepts, the concern with vocational skill and employability is prominent. However, it may well be that none of these concepts is appropriately responsive to the problems of the society in which the young people we are training will live. If this is true, a broader conception of Career Education is indicated.

The Changing Social Order

Career may be defined as a course of continued progress in the life of a person. Since in the recent history of mankind one's life has been defined largely by the work that one does, vocation or occupation has become the colloquial connotation for career. In the emerging social order, work may no longer be central, but may give way to other processes as the critical concerns of life. In such a social order, career will come to mean continued progress throughout the life span requiring attention to the multifaceted nature of human life.

Let us examine the direction in which our society is moving and identify some of the implicit educational goals to which schooling must be sensitive. Educational tasks faced in the United States have been complicated and enlarged by three revolutionary developments in society:

1. the explosion in the quantity and complexity of knowledge available to man
2. an emerging transition from an industrial society to a technological, cybernetic society
3. the emergence of radical changes in the realms of political awareness, patterns of social organization, explicit values and economic potential.

In almost every discipline or category of knowledge, we are beginning to recognize overlapping concepts, parallels, and dependencies that transform many of the simplistic concepts of the past into infinitely complex ones. Postulates once accepted as fact have been brought under serious questioning and many can hardly be stated without extensive qualification. In addition, the mass of knowledge available to man is thought to double itself about every 10 years. This multiplication of knowledge and the high prospect that such growth will continue have important implications not only for what is learned but also how we learn it.

Recent advances in technology enabling us to combine the power of the machine with the capabilities of the computer are ushering us out of the industrial era and into the cybernetic era. Changes that will be forced on society as a result of this transition are likely to be more challenging and dislocating than those which accompanied the transition from the agricultural era into the industrial era. Not only will the means of production be changed – man's involvement may be all but eliminated. The industrial era placed greater demands on man for skill and reduced his need for strength. The cybernetic era may reduce man's need for skill and greatly increase his need for mental facility. The industrial era changed the form of man's labor from the home-based production of his own food, clothing, and tools to a factory-based repetition of one boring task, unrelated to any satisfying end product. The cybernetic era may not only completely change the nature of man's work; it could *eliminate* work as an essential human function. The implications of these changes will greatly influence education and practically all other aspects of our society.

As societies become more complex and congested, political processes become more intricate and the requirement for politicalization becomes almost essential to survival. Growing political awareness and social action by significant segments of society are but a reflection of this phenomenon. As a result of this politicalization and other pressures, patterns of social organization are in a considerable state of flux. In addition, institutional ties are being severed; alienation is prevalent. In this period of increasingly rapid change, old values are surrendering to new, contradictions between professed and practical values are becoming more obvious, and conflicts between values are more disruptive.

Among the contradictions, none is more obvious than the existence of hunger and poverty in the midst of affluence. This discrepancy in the distribution of society's wealth is maintained by technological developments that have brought us to a point where productivity is almost unlimited. Such conditions in the presence of high economic potential could become the basis for radical changes in the political economy of a nation. Predicting the direction of change is difficult, but present circumstances have made obsolete many traditional ways we have had of looking at the world and finding our place in it.

Schools of the Future

If educational efforts are to match the demands of these developments, attention must be focused on remodeling the concepts and structure of education so that schools of the future will not only be more appropriately aligned with the needs of society, but also will be a positive force in facilitating societal transition. The vast amount of knowledge available to man, together with the demands of advanced technology by which our society moves, will require that future citizens have skill in the management of knowledge in the same way that changes in the politicosocial sphere will make more necessary than ever competencies and skills in intrapersonal management and interpersonal relations. A society that approaches education with these concerns in mind might appropriately give attention to five specific educational goals:

1. **Mastery of Basic Communication Skills**
   Education for all in our society must be built on the mastery of basic skills in symbolic representation and utilization. The survival tools of the cybernetic era are communication skills including speech, reading, writing, and mathematical computation.
2. **Problem Solving**
   The movement from anxiety, confusion, and disorder to problem formulation involves competence in the analysis of data and experience leading first to problem identification followed by competence in the synthesis of concepts and postulates to the end that strategic approaches to problem solution may be generated.
3. **Management of Knowledge**
   Knowledge of the physical, biological, and social sciences is so vast as to preclude complete content mastery by any single person. Knowledge of the dimensions of these fields, mastery of their principles, skill in the creation or discovery of order or pattern in their data, and competence in the management and utilization of this knowledge are necessary. Emerging technology for the retrieval and technical management of information makes mastery of the content of knowledge a far less compelling goal for our citizens of the future.
4. **Employment, Leisure, and Continuing Education**
   Some writers see the world of the future as one where achievement through physical work will no longer be a prime requirement in our society. Utilization of leisure will emerge as a central problem. Rapidly changing technology is destroying the lifetime career in a single vocation. Today's children, as adults, may change not only jobs but kinds of work many times. Consequently, they will be required to make quick adaptation to radically different work situations. The demand will be for trainability so that education may continue at intervals throughout an individual's life.

   If other projections hold true, however, many of today's young people will live as adults in a society that no longer rewards physical work. The new society may reward, instead, self-expression through art, through interaction with nature, and through social interchange. Of course, creative self-expression may become important for vocational utilization as well as for aesthetic purposes.

5. **Self-Management**
   The achievement of goals such as these will involve the schools in activities more explicitly directed at personal, social, and character development. It may require a more adequate understanding of self and others than is usually achieved. It may make wider adaptations to multiethnic and multicultural societies essential. It may require a high degree of flexibility and capacity to accommodate to change as a primary survival tool. It may give added urgency to conflict resolution through avenues of nonviolence and the development of appreciative and respectful relationships with the worlds of nature, of man-made objects, of ideas, and of values. Thus the crucial demand for competence may be in self-management.

Definition of Career Education

The achievement of a high degree of communicative skill, proficiency in seeking and managing information, and competence in the transfer of knowledge and skills to new situations requires school systems to focus on a wide variety of developmental needs of students rather than on more specialized content and skill mastery. In this context, Career Education is not perceived as a substitute for some other aspect of education or as an appendage to the existing content. Instead, Career Education is seen as an integral part of all basic educational programs. Career Education must be concerned more with *facilitating the processes of living* and less with preparation for making a living–more with the development of a meaningful life than with earning a good livelihood. This view of education does not involve a separate emphasis on one's educational or vocational development, but a comprehensive concern with career development, in which "career" is defined as the course by which one develops and lives a responsible and satisfying life.

By defining "career" in terms of man's lifespan, we must include one's role as learner, producer, citizen, family member, consumer, and social-political being. Throughout a lifespan these roles are in a constant state of changing relative importance. At one point, an individual may perceive the role of a citizen as his highest priority. At another time, the role of producer may be most important. Although the assignment of permanent preeminence to any one of these roles must be avoided, temporary emphasis on one or another may be justified.

In that sense some concern with vocational education may be justified since the vocational role is one for which we must prepare (at least in the immediate future). However, vocational skill development may be unsuited to long-term goal fulfillment. It is no longer appropriate to focus entirely on one's vocational skills and role, for it may be appropriate to too small a portion of the human life span.

One's career should be concerned with several other roles. Preparation for all of these roles is essential so that one could move in and out of work, politics, institutions; utilize knowledge and skill for appropriate social adjustments; assign values and make choices in unanticipated situations requiring decisions; and develop appreciation for aesthetic and humane values in preparation for many roles as an expressive and compassionate being.

One of the reasons for this shift in concern is the fact that man increasingly devotes less of his time to the production of things and services and more to leisure. In leisure, gratification comes from doing things relevant to one's own voluntary pursuit of life's subtle rewards. Thus, one's involvement in self-fulfilling activities is essential to the living of a meaningful and satisfying life.

In earlier stages of our society, most people were able to give meaning to their lives through their vocations. For many, the search for meaning and satisfaction was a privilege not extended to them by society. But one of the contradictions of the present period likely to extend into the next is to be found in societal conditions that constantly stimulate man to search for meaning and satisfaction while providing limited resources for fulfilling that search.

What is essential to living a meaningful and satisfying life? Probably nothing is more important to this process than intellect. It is through man's intellect that all else becomes possible. The development of intellect enabled man to rise above lower forms of animal life. Intellect prevents man from being reduced to robot status by the technology of his own creation. Yet the intellect of man receives little attention in almost all our efforts at schooling.

Priorities for Learning

According to Anthony Wallace, what a man is expected to learn is a function of his culture.[1] What is expected of education depends on whether it occurs in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. No society is exclusively based on one of these value orientations, although one does predominate in a given group during a particular period. According to Wallace, any one society will progress repeatedly through this tripartite cycle of revolutionary, conservative, and reactionary stages.

A particular philosophy of education, which determines what is to be learned, is associated with each stage. Priorities for learning are assigned and classified into three categories: *the development of intellect*—the ability to analyze transmitted culture critically to generate or create something more; *the development of morality*—capability of establishing values and discerning meaning from them;

and *the development of skills*—the mechanics or operations used to achieve morality, intellect, and productivity. It is interesting to note that none of the stages (revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary) ranks intellect as the top learning priority for the society.

The Revolutionary Society

Learning priorities for a revolutionary society support a process of cultural transformation by converting the population to a new code of morality as its primary concern. The first task for this society is to fill positions of leadership with intellectually resourceful people who adhere to the new morality. These personnel are designated to develop and to carry out a program that will convert the populace to its revolutionary ethic. Intellect serves a secondary but important function in a stage of cultural, moral transformation.

The Conservative Society

In a conservative society, since code formation is established, intellect has no special use or political influence. Schools have no reason to emphasize intellect. Responsibility for intellectual education is left to the individual. Pseudointellectualism and pretentious amateurs flood academia with incompetencies. The "pure" intellectual utilizes his talents in contributing to amoral production of new weapons, new philosophies, and new curriculums. The system rewards technological advancement and places technical skill training as the highest educational priority. It considers intellect separated from morality as being the lowest.

The Reactionary Society

In a postconservative or reactionary society, learning is centered around two matters: renewal of enthusiasm for a once-pure, revolutionary morality, and suppression of contradictory doctrine.

It should be noted that a common phenomenon in revolutionary and reactionary societies is the paramount concern with morality. However, there are severe discrepancies in their designs for achieving it. In the former, morality and intellect are joined to achieve predetermined behavior; in the latter, intellect is viewed as an enemy. In the conservative society, intellect is simply ignored. Most alarming, however, is the fact that a moral or skill-based education is forced on the young at the expense of personal and intellectual development. Clearly, then, it seems that in all stages of societal development, technique and socialization are stressed while intellectual cultivation is assigned low priority.

Importance of Intellect

For the emerging social order it is crucially important that the paradigm described by Wallace be redesigned to insure that the development of intellect be raised to the highest priority. Skills and imposed morality will leave man insufficiently equipped to deal with the most critical problems of the 21st century. Human beings, accustomed to far simpler social environments, have reacted to the complex problems of modern life with habituation or adaptation. As problems increase in complexity and intensity, the process of habituation is likely to accelerate and the processes of adaptation must become more complex. These processes are reflected in growing insensitivity to social and moral indignation or shock; increasing insulation and isolation in personal-social interchange; alienation from the concepts, institutions, and affiliations that heretofore have provided stabilizing points of reference; and disaffection or loss of a sense of faith in nature, in society, in authority figures, or in oneself as continuing influential forces.

Summary

Under such conditions the survival of man will depend increasingly on his capacity to use his intellectual power to adapt to his changing environment, as well as on his ability to adapt the environment to his special needs. Such capacities are likely to be the product of learning experiences designed to cultivate the mind and spirit of man in ways that combine competence in the *use of knowledge*, compassionate and empathetic *appreciation of values*, and *mastery of selected skills*. These three dimensions must comprise the definition of Career Education–education that prepares for continued progress in the life of a person.

Obviously, such an education must be concerned with mastery of basic communication skills; competence in problem solving; competence in the management of knowledge; preparation for continuing education, employment, and leisure; and competence in self-management. The specific content to be emphasized will vary as the needs of the society change. For several years that content probably will include some concern with mastery of a marketable skill along with other content specialities. However, if that education is appropriately managed, it will not have as its purpose mastery of that specific skill or content. Its purpose will be to use educational content as the vehicle by which the capacity to understand and to adapt is developed and enhanced. For if Career Education, or any education, does not do that, it is inadequate education.

Footnote

1. "Schools in Revolutionary and Conservative Societies," in *Social and Cultural Foundations of Guidance*, eds., Esther M. Lloyd-Jones and Nora Rosenau (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) p. 196.

Building a Framework

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Lola June May is Supervisor of Mathematics for the Winnetka Public Schools, Winnetka, Ill.

As a teacher who knows what it's like on the firing line, Dr. May gets down to the business of how Career Education can work in the classroom. She offers ideas that should convince even the most adamant critic that Career Education can be the catalyst for all instruction, beginning with kindergarten. Her illustrations of classroom approaches to career awareness—many already in use—suggest that simple learning activities can be made to generate student enthusiasm. For example, community resource people—such as senior citizens—can be invited into the classroom, not only to talk to, but to work with students on a long-term basis.

Who Shall Teach Career Education? The Practitioner As Teacher

Lola June May

All of us who have mastered the new math, survived the new science and the new social studies, lived through the new language arts, struggled to individualize instruction, taken up team teaching, and thrown open classrooms in the best British tradition now face a new challenge: Career Education.

Career Education is our goal for the 1970's, the direction education will take, and the force that can give new meaning to all our teaching techniques and classroom organization. More important, Career Education is the new power that can change for the good the lives of all students.

The charge came from the President himself. In March, 1970, Richard M. Nixon mandated: "By demanding education reform now, we can gain the understanding we need to help every student reach new levels of achievement; only by challenging conventional wisdom can we as a nation gain the wisdom we need to educate our young in the decade of the seventies."

Then shortly after being named Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr. proposed Career Education as the educational reform to challenge conventional wisdom.

As the new, universal goal for American education, Career Education would assure that every young person completing high school would be ready to enter either higher education or useful and rewarding employment.

And Career Education would be accorded the same prestige, the same careful preparation, the same sober planning, and the same recognition as the college preparatory curriculum.

Career Education caught on. Support came from those who wanted all students to acquire competence and preparedness so that they, at any point they should choose to spin off from our spiral curriculum, would take with them a proudly held, marketable job skill.

Although few in the academic world are fully aware of it, or even comprehend its consequences, Career Education is on the launch pad and the countdown is about to start. But who's going to be responsible for getting Career

Education off the ground? The teachers in the classroom, that's who. Me and you. And why not? We're the ones who always have made education work.

Now again—as always—the real job depends on us. It falls to us to see that the experts' Career Education mockup really turns into an effective working model.

The Teacher's Role

The teacher's role in Career Education represents no small challenge. But we will do what conscientious teachers for generations have done: With faith in the future that education holds for our students, we will turn full devotion and creativity to the task before us.

And our partners in the enterprise will be the ones we've always counted on—the parents and grandparents of our students, and their neighbors and friends. These people are the ones who mean the most to our youngsters; and these adults are the ones who care the most about them. But more important, these involved citizens are the ones who know the most about Career Education—they live in the world of work every day of their lives.

Now I'm positive that each of us—whether eager and young, clicking along the corridors in high heels, or a year or so more experienced, feet firmly planted in Groundgrippers—has called on parents, grandparents, friends, and neighbors to enrich children's lives as we have developed our own special school projects.

If we're studying ancient Greece, for example, we look among our children for a grandparent born there or a parent just returned. Should a Swedish woodcarver come to craft his wares for an importer-parent, we set him up in the school lobby so all our children can be captivated by this vanishing art.

And many of us have seen nonresponsive children suddenly blossom as a result of the patient and consistent encouragement that a senior citizen can utilize to seek out a child's special interest.

Now it's up to us to turn these marvelously talented practitioners into teachers in our Career Education curriculum. Rather than merely relating the grandeurs of Greece, for example, and more specifically, his own vocation, our parent can add a new dimension to his description. He can tell of the talents which Greek men and women demonstrate, the skills they call on to make a living, the ways they support their families, and the difficulties they may have in doing so.

And while admittedly there may not be too much of a future in woodcarving for our youngsters, they nevertheless can learn about the talent the job takes, the satisfaction work can bring when you're in a job you like, and how to find that job.

So as we learn with our pupils from the practitioners, they ought to learn from us the directions their teaching must take to be most effective. Any parent can turn a travelogue into a Career Education experience for the class if we instruct him to focus on how people live and the economic forces at work, be it in Greece or Germany or Galapagos.

With this in mind, let's explore the possibilities such teacher-practitioner teamwork holds for the good of children. Let's see what dynamic directions we can take, as early as kindergarten, to make Career Education most effective.

Opportunities for Learning About Work

These valuable early learning years, when many children do not even know what their fathers and mothers do for a living, are full of opportunities for youngsters to learn the variety and excitement of the world of work.

To help children, we must introduce parent-practitioners to Career Education at the first class meeting in the fall or the first parent conference. We can begin by making them aware of the valuable alternatives Career Education offers children and the role that adults can play in opening doors to learning.

We can begin together by helping each child become aware of the work his own parents do and the importance of his parents' contributions to the lives of all of us.

We can urge each father and mother to take his youngster on a family field trip, the most important trip any kindergartner can take–a visit to the places where daddy and mommy work.

"But I only have a desk in the corner of a large office," one parent may admit ruefully.

"I'm just one of hundreds on an assembly line," another may say. "I'm just a small cog in a big machine. Quite frankly, I'm just a nobody at work."

But his child will not perceive it that way. To each child, his father's desk is the most important in the building. Every youngster will feel close to his parent on that outing and the child will know and understand where father and mother go when they leave early in the morning and do not come back until evening.

Our practitioner-parents can help youngsters become more aware of the world of work in countless ways. Encourage each father to help his child keep lists or collect pictures of all the types of persons he meets at work every day. Ask mother to help her youngster keep track of all the persons she meets and the jobs they do as she goes about the business of running a home. Together, parents and children can search through magazines for pictures of men and women at work. In other words, they can collect careers.

Then, as they share these career collections, we can lead our pupils, through our questioning, to find their own answers: What does this person do? How do you think he helps others? Do you think he enjoys his job? Do you think you'd like to do that job?

As we move along through the grades, these scrapbooks can become true career guides. Older boys and girls should choose their current career interest and then seek out the experts—the men and women on the job—as their resource persons.

Together, pupil and practitioner can contribute an important source book to a career library that will both inform and inspire others as well as spark an interest in reading because the words have meaning.

Career Education Focus

This kind of focus on careers can give more than a sharp picture of our economic world to reading. Careers can give substance to all our school subjects, because we can relate careers to everything our children learn in school, and all their school learning to careers.

Again, we can help our children find the answers through our questions, as we ask our guest practitioners: "What did you learn in school—in first grade, third, or fifth, as the case may be—that helps you now in your job?" And we can ask our pupils: "How do you think what you're learning right now in school will help you when you're on the job?"

As our children think more and more in terms of careers, we can recruit fathers and mothers to "show and tell" what they do on their jobs. Better still, they can demonstrate their skills or let the children see and feel the tools.

The mere fact that Johnny's father or Mary's mother does the job will make a lasting impression on the children. Then, good teachers can clinch that impression by guiding the children in their questions and by guiding the parents in their understanding of our goal—making all our young people aware of the dignity of work.

What happens when our children, in their inventories of job interests, come up with a career we do not have a parent to match? Where do we find a practitioner? We do the same thing imaginative den mothers have done for years—we track down our practitioners—at the local newspaper office, at the fire or police station, in the drug store, or at the animal hospital.

Should we have a baker, chef, or Julia Child among our parents, we can plan with his help, or hers, a delicious lesson for our children. First graders can bake gingerbread men, starting from scratch. Then they can compare the results with those they achieve when classmates team in an assembly line. In the process, they learn more than just how to bake gingerbread men. They discover for themselves the power in the concept of division of labor.

And just by doing classroom chores our boys and girls can learn for themselves the truth about which Adam Smith wrote volumes and what Henry Ford's assembly line suggested to American industry.

No doubt pupils can learn basic economic concepts as early as first grade. To prove his claim that every major idea in economics can be related to the everyday life of the child at every level, Economics Professor Lawrence Senesh, working on materials for nonreaders at Purdue University as early as 1959, came up with unique instructional materials on economic principles.

With the help of our practitioners, we can see that children, as early as first grade, can learn the satisfaction—sometimes the frustration—of working with their hands.

Those with a printer among their parents and friends can plan a pretechnology program similar to that financed in the Trenton, New Jersey, area by the Ford Foundation. There, first graders, with little hand presses, learned about printing. More important, they learned to read and write, but all their learning was related to problem solving and shop operation.

Let's keep in mind, too, the potential power in our garden club members. Growing things can bring a new awareness to young as well as old.

In Chicago's inner city, children who before had only associated flowers with funerals are learning that working with plants can enrich the soul, thanks to a green-power project suggested by a reading teacher who thought her children should know more about the world and how it works.

The lessons learned in waiting for things to grow have given priceless perspective to young lives. After all, you've learned a lot when you learn you can't rush a radish.

By such procedures, practitioners, with our guidance, can make learning really mean something to children. They then can see relevance in all academic subjects as they move along through the grades. Meanwhile, the pupils are building an appreciation of the self-satisfaction that comes from self-reliance.

Such lessons are essential for the child who will use his hands to shape the future and for the one who will use his mind to direct destiny.

When our children have such a strong grounding in the primary grades, we can hope for practitioners who will help the pupils expand their horizons in the middle grades, either tasting work in real life situations or playing games to learn basic economic principles.

Practitioners who play these economic games with children will be amazed at the economic understanding such games can implant as early as the middle-elementary grades.

Take, for example, the lessons learned from playing the Market game developed by the Industrial Relations Center at the University of Chicago. Youngsters gain an awareness of the subtleties of the laws of supply and demand and a feeling for their power as these forces work to establish price in the market place.

Sound complicated? It isn't, not for youngsters in ghetto or private schools who have played to learn about buying and selling, profit and loss, and the basic economic principles that will work in their consumer and retailer teams.

The Life Career game developed for sixth graders simulates in their classroom the elements of the outside future world. Pupils make their decisions, learn about both the personal and the social significance of work, and play with their parent/practitioner/partners.

Adult Volunteers Help

In Winnetka, we've known for a long time what a difference such intellectual partnerships can make. Since the fall of 1959, when Dr. Marland was our superintendent, we've had volunteers give our youngsters a clear appreciation of what it takes to be a responsible, successful grownup.

Our first adult partners were selected men and women, all over 65, with career interests from navigation to poultry raising and from electronics to surgery. Each worked with a pair of underachievers for 45 minutes a week.

Their conferences may have had to do with the excavations of the Dead Sea scrolls, how an electric coil functions, or the math of bike wheels and gears. In any case, our teachers managed to adapt their classroom activities so that the youngsters, on completing their session with the senior citizen, returned with a report, project, or demonstration to give each one a new look at himself as an effective intellectual performer.

Both senior citizens and teachers were assigned, coached, and scheduled by a coordinator of volunteers who got parent approval and kept parents and teachers informed of the program.

Although established originally with a modest foundation grant that paid for the half-time services of the project coordinator, our program has continued through the years.

And all of us who've had such a special interest in our volunteers through the years wonder what we ever did without them. How did we ever get along, for example, before we had Howard Bede, a retired advertising man, who came to us in 1959 to tell children about the world of writing. He is still with us, helping youngsters.

Or Herbert Sieck, a retired engineer, who works with children in science all day, helping them build all the things youngsters love to build—transistors and computers and electronic gadgets and geegaws. In fact, our "Mr. Fixit," as children know him, spent so much time in the schools we had to put him on the payroll as our $1-a-year man so we could square ourselves with our insurance coverage.

You're well aware, I'm sure, of the luxury of such a pupil-teacher ratio as these volunteers make possible. They're certainly the world's best educational bargain. Their countless success stories with children of all economic and intellectual levels are testimony to the possibilities of active volunteer bureaus whose members can be alerted to the potentialities of Career Education.

Such a project is good to keep in mind the next time the Parent-Teacher Association leaders come to you for ideas on how they can help.

Meanwhile, each of us must bring in our own Mr. Bedes and seek out our own Mr. Siecks to help in our Career Education goal. We must count on the practitioners to help us build an effective Career Education curriculum, because it's up to us teachers now—until the money trickles down, and the experts come in, and we find ourselves, 3 or 4 years from now, on a faculty committee to coordinate the careers curriculum for the entire school.

And when that time comes, we'll be awfully glad we've learned from the experts themselves—our parent/grandparent and friendly neighborhood practitioner.

Meanwhile, those of us who teach in the middle grades must search for practitioners who can offer limited work experiences for young people, perhaps through a company-class project that will take the children out of the school and into the store, shop, or professional office.

With the help of our pupils, we can accumulate a careers card file. In doing so, we can give youngsters a more detailed insight into careers as they learn of the 15 different occupational clusters for Career Education set up by the Office of Education—communications and media, marine science, transportation, fine arts and humanities, consumer and homemaking education, construction, marketing and distribution, environment, business and office, agri-business and natural resources, health, hospitality and recreation, personal services, manufacturing, and public service.

By the time youngsters are in high school, they'll need experiences in several possible areas within the cluster or clusters for which they have talent and interest. And we will need practitioners who are paid staff members—the master teachers who are the great skilled men in the crafts.

The master at auto body repair, for instance, may never have graduated from high school, yet he'll know more than a Ph.D. about fixing fenders, and may earn more, too. We academicians may have to swallow hard and accept with grace and understanding when such talented practitioners, serving as our assistant instructors or teacher aides, earn more than we do.

But wherever we are on the academic ladder, from kindergarten through college, involving parents and practitioners in the Career Education cause can be invaluable in eliminating the negative connotation that "vocational" or "technical" has acquired in our culture.

We want our children to know from the start that one judges a man not by the color of his collar but by the quality of his performance in the career he likes best, whether its "badge" be blue collar or white, hard hat or fedora, uniform or miniskirt.

Who Shall Teach Career Education? The Practitioner as Teacher

And we'll need our practitioners—parents, grandparents, neighbors, and friends—to help us instill attitudes about the satisfying fruits of hard work, the truths of brotherhood, and an enduring commitment to the dignity and worth of all persons, whatever their work.

That's what Career Education is all about—helping each young person discover his interest as early as possible, then assuring that he will leave high school with both a traditional education and a saleable skill. And that's why we need our practitioners all along the line—to help us meet the challenge and help our young people reach the goal.

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A machine shop teacher since 1950, Morris Shapiro is Vice President for Vocational High Schools of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2 in New York City.

In this essay Mr. Shapiro brings his many years of experience in the field of vocational education to bear on the question of how to implement Career Education in secondary schools. He believes that comprehensive high schools worthy of the name must put as much stress on the importance of occupational training as they do on academic training and that these schools must offer training for high-skills or low-skills occupations as well as high-quality academic programs. In his "Blueprint For a Dual-Purpose High School," Mr. Shapiro considers specific solutions to the problem of high urban dropout rates. Some of these solutions include: occupational courses geared to the local employment needs of the area in which the school is located; mandatory occupational courses, as well as required academic ones, for all students; counseling services for all students, dropouts, and former students up to the age of 25; a direct linkage between occupational counseling and employment agencies; and a "13th year" to be offered for training high school and college dropouts and for upgrading of adult workers' skills.

The Urban Dropout and the World of Work

Morris Shapiro

> "Millions of dollars appropriated annually by New York City for educational purposes are wasted in a hopeless effort to force the conventional curriculum upon girls and boys who have neither the motivation nor the inclination to assimilate the work. Learning the habit of failure, these students become truants and often criminals.
>
> They are not interested in book learning. They fail over and over again. They become discouraged and hate school. They waste time when they attend and go out unfitted for competition. Yet many of this group when given a chance to learn an occupational skill have shown talent. Interested in their work, they have profited by it and have been able to earn a good living after school."

The above statements were quoted in an article entitled "Educators Ask for More Trade Schools in the City" that appeared in the Sunday, January 5, 1930 edition of *The World*, a now defunct New York newspaper. Forty-two years later, the need to extend trade education still exists. Today, however, vocational education is being called on not just to salvage our potential dropouts but to help effect an overall educational reform that will give relevancy to academic learning and insight into the world of work for all students.

Call for Change

The need for change is not new; neither is the concept of change new—it simply is being recognized more clearly today. The call for change no longer can be ignored if youth are to be prepared to meet the challenges created by the rapid technological advances being made in industry.

The urgent need for a viable system of Career Education is clearly underlined by the scarcity of low-skill jobs in today's job market and the increased demand for skilled workers. This dilemma has been compounded in recent years by a flood of World War II babies entering an already crowded job market. Many are over-educated academically for the jobs available. In addition, nearly a million high school students drop out and more than a million graduates do not enter college each year. The magnitude of the situation is evident.

Urban Dropouts

The dropout problem exists at all educational levels and represents an unnecessary waste of a potential labor resource. At the high school level, however, the dropout problem is acute. And the greatest percentage of secondary school dropouts is centered in urban areas.

Almost 39 percent of the secondary school students in New York State attend school in New York City. Yet the City has 58 percent of the State's high school dropouts, 70 percent of its educationally disadvantaged students, and 62 percent of its economically disadvantaged students.

Unquestionably we must begin now to stop an educational blight that is taking its heaviest toll among youth from urban areas. Educators must begin to compare what they are talking about with what they are doing. For too long they have *talked about* an educational system that provides for the wide range of student aptitudes, abilities, and interests, while providing only academic studies as though these are the only worthwhile educational avenues. They have denied occupational education to the academically talented and in so doing have denied the present educational systems the diversity and practicality needed to develop the full potential of all students.

It is interesting to note that a survey taken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics involving 22,000 high school students showed no substantial difference in intelligence between the dropout and others in his age group. Dropouts usually are average students who frequently give "lack of interest" as the reason for leaving school.

For the dropout and for the high school graduate who is not college bound and does not have a saleable skill, the first attempt to secure a job becomes another milestone of personal frustration. The psychological significance of his first job is extremely important because it gives status to his relationship with society. Moreover, being unskilled, he has no options. Further attempts to secure or hold a meaningful job lead to other disastrous encounters with the world of work and doom him to a pattern of consistent failure.

Planning for Career Education

If we are to have viable career-oriented programs in keeping with the concepts advanced by Sidney P. Marland, Jr., we must begin by planning a reorientation program for teachers on all levels of education. The success of Career Education will be in direct proportion to the degree to which occupational skills training is included in Career Education and the effectiveness of teachers to present career options to their students.

Morris Shapiro

Much work to develop a new curriculum for Career Education has already begun. Much more work lies ahead. All of our resources and talents must be gathered and put to work if we are to achieve the goals inherent in the Career Education concept.

For most urban areas it is already late; further delays may lead to failure. In New York City, for example, the problem of transforming a huge complex of educational facilities to provide for Career Education has yet to be solved. It is a city that operates the largest and perhaps the most educationally segregated vocational school system in the Nation. It is a city where many who direct educational policies still cling to the misconception that occupational training should be reserved for low achievers.

The goals of recently organized so-called comprehensive high schools have been diluted because only a token number of vocational programs has been installed. In fact, there are so few vocational programs in place that no real career alternatives exist for most students attending these schools. Unless attitudes toward occupational preparation change dramatically, Career Education in New York City and throughout the Nation will fail on the planning board.

Successful planning for Career Education must include a significant integration of vocational education into the general school program, and it must begin as early as seventh grade to provide actual occupational experiences and an awareness of the necessary attitudes and disciplines that jobs require. There must be clearly defined purposes for industrial arts programs, which are exploratory in nature, and vocational-occupational skill training, which is job oriented.

In high schools, curriculums and school facilities must be arranged with the flexibility that will provide students with intra-school and inter-school mobility so that they can pursue an individualized program. There also must be massive support services that will help students choose and find success in their careers.

The Career Education concept needs dual-purpose high schools with an occupational sequence required of *all* students.

BLUEPRINT FOR A DUAL-PURPOSE HIGH SCHOOL

1. It is a 4-year high school.
2. It is a school that serves all students.
3. It is a comprehensive high school that puts as much stress on the importance of occupational training as it does on academic training.
4. It is a school that provides advanced studies for the gifted.
5. It is a school that provides special opportunities for the slow learner.
6. It is a school that offers high-skills training or low-skills training and a full academic program.

7. It is a school that requires high standards for admission into the high-skills vocational curriculum, thus assuring that it will not deteriorate into a dumping ground for the slow or reluctant learner. A complete battery of tests, which includes interest, aptitude, and dexterity tests, should be given to students as early as their eighth year. After the results of these tests are known, a conference should be held with the parents, the child, and the educational and vocational guidance counselor. After carefully considering the student's achievement record, the findings of the battery of tests, and the subjective ambitions of the child, an occupational goal and the appropriate supporting high school curriculum should be selected. The manpower needs of the immediate and surrounding communities must be major factors in this selection. Hopefully this method will be objective and provide good vocational guidance. There are many jobs unfilled because of the dearth of qualified personnel; at the same time, many American young people are unemployed, because they lack the skills needed for the jobs available. To eliminate this paradoxical situation, it will be necessary to set up scientific methods of assisting each young person to select a life's goal which gives him a reasonable chance to succeed and earn a livelihood.
8. It is a school where all freshmen are required to take double-period exploratory courses (as distinguished from industrial arts courses) in five or six different skill areas.
9. It is a school where the vocational student is required to take his vocational major 3 hours daily (4 periods out of 9) for 3 years or, in special cases, for 2 years (see No. 16).
10. It is a school where the college-bound student is required to take a vocational course for 3 hours daily for at least 1 year. The student then will be better prepared to continue this vocation by attending a 13th-year skills course or to enter the world of work if, for any reason, he does not attend college or finish college.
11. Several schools must offer 13th-year skills courses on a full-time basis. These courses will be the equivalent of a 2-year high school course. Students these skill courses could serve are:
    a. High school graduates who wish to learn a particular skill
    b. College dropouts who wish to learn a skill
    c. Adult and young workers who wish to upgrade their skills
    d. Unemployed youths and adults
    e. High school dropouts.
12. It is a school that provides a curriculum that will qualify both a vocational and an academic major for entry into college.
13. It is a coeducational school.
14. It accommodates no more than 2,000 students.

15. It has a physical plant to accommodate all phases of quality education, including a sufficient number of shops to accommodate instruction in five or six different occupational skills for men and five or six skills for women. However, occupational skills must be open to both sexes.
16. The student day consists of 9 periods, including a lunch period, during each of the 4 years of high school. This allows enough time for a complete academic and shop curriculum to be completed within the 4 years. (The length of the teacher's day need not conform to the length of the student's day.)
17. The school has an active academic advisory board.
18. The school has an active vocational advisory board.
19. The school has a full-time psychologist with supportive services.
20. The school has a full-time college advisor.
21. The school has a full-time employment counselor with industrial experience who works with the State Employment Service and Labor Department.
22. It is a school that has a follow-up file and offers educational and vocational guidance to all of its dropouts and graduates until age 25. Statistics are kept and an evaluation of the school's goals and effectiveness is made periodically.
23. Academic class size does not exceed 25 pupils per teacher.
24. Shop class size does not exceed 15 pupils per teacher.
25. It is staffed with vocational-subject teachers who have an adequate number of years of trade experience to insure that students are trained by highly skilled craftsmen. These teachers must meet the following trade-experience requirements:
    a. Nine years of trade experience that may be reduced by no more than 2 years for those who have 1) graduated from an approved 4-year vocational or technical high school; or 2) graduated from an approved 2-year technical institute or community college; or 3) earned an appropriate trade license or certificate issued by a federal, state, or city agency; or
    b. Nine years of trade experience that may be reduced by no more than 4 years for those who have completed a recognized apprenticeship program on a year-to-year basis.
26. It is the type of school that would be most effective in urban areas because city youngsters have no alternatives but to obtain a saleable skill to become economically independent.

Shop facilities should be added to existing academic high schools to convert them to dual-purpose schools. Adding these shops to traditional schools would be the cheapest method of converting them into high schools capable of implementing the Career Education concept.

If this concept were accepted nationally and if occupational courses were mandated for all, just as English and other academic subjects are mandated, our urban crises would surely be greatly relaxed.

Mandatory occupational courses for all students is the key to success of the Career Education concept. It is the only method that will turn back the "intellectual snobbery" that exists toward those who work with their hands. Once most people experience occupational training and discover the high degree of manual dexterity and mental ability required to become an expert craftsman, their attitudes should change. Greater understanding and respect for the world of work would be engendered by their experience. All would hold in higher esteem any person–or themselves, for that matter–who chooses a career that requires manual arts rather than liberal arts training. The dignity of labor thus would be restored.

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In her essay, Mrs. Daley explores the roles which must be played by school personnel and community leaders if career development is to be offered as a significant means of educating our young people.

Mrs. Daley suggests "Walk-In Centers," "Parent Classes," "School-Industry Exchanges," "Assessment Buses," and a "Moving Photographic Career Library" as innovative approaches to implementing Career Education and establishing a working partnership between school and community.

Career Development: A Cooperative Thrust of the School and Its Community

Thelma T. Daley

Career development is a theme that must embrace every child enrolled in our democratic school system. It must touch the shy and aggressive, the economically endowed, and the culturally deprived. It must extend to those with grade-point averages in the first quintile as well as the Q5 rankers.

Career development must show no biases in selectivity of recipients and must employ the combined, coordinated skills and efforts of the school, the parent, the child, and the community.

More and more, professional educators are speaking out for Career Education in an attempt to make the school a more democratic and relevant institution. Most people agree that all students deserve equal treatment by our schools. Increasingly, career development is being discussed as a means for achieving equality by making education relevant to the real-life career needs of all students.

The question is, *how* can reforms be instituted to make schools more sensitive to the need for career development in the curriculum?

Suprisingly enough, Career Education isn't a new concept. It is alluded to in practically all well-developed course guides. An examination of curriculum guides provided by the Board of Education of Baltimore County (Maryland) reveals, by way of illustration, that guidelines indicating the need for a career developmental approach are indeed established in various subject areas.

The Board's written philosophy of business education is a case in point: "Business education is both vocational and social and should deal with those aspects of education which have to do with developing an understanding of economic life—as well as with the preparation of young people for positions in the business world."

The same system's guide in vocational education states in part: "The program is designed to assist persons in securing the skills, information, attitudes, and understandings which will enable them to enter employment and progress satisfactorily . . . A further purpose is to continue or supplement a student's cultural education, especially the social, civic, and health aspects."

A comparison of statements of purpose from other subject matter areas and other schools would reveal the similarity of goals and priorities to which they all subscribe. Basically, a common thread of educational philosophy interlaces the broad subject matter areas of our schools. Unfortunately, few institutions have developed a systematic approach to allow personnel to share the philosophies and objectives of courses of study. Thus, career development, discussed in nearly all well-planned course guides, has been approached in a fragmented manner. The time for tying up loose ends is at hand.

The task of coordinating the school program to emphasize already existing similarities in the educational philosophies of various departments, as they relate to career development, obviously falls to the administrator or school principal.

The place to begin the task of coordination might be the all-school faculty meeting that for too long has been devoted to such concerns as hall patrols, student smoking, and school dance chaperoning. Another forum for change might be the periodic meetings of departments or department heads that for too long have handled housekeeping duties–i.e., supply orders, book orders, faculty room coffee service, and announcements.

One of the simplest and most expedient means of assuring a coordinated approach to Career Education is through the initiation of career development as an ongoing agenda item for regularly scheduled meetings of department chairmen. Since the counselor, as well as each department head, is represented in this constellation, the *overall development of the child* could become a focal point in these discussions. An organized sharing and analytical dialogue might result in shades of adjustment in department offerings that would help students develop into self-fulfilled, contributing, and productive citizens, instead of the passive, apathetic receptacles of learning they so often are today.

This approach calls for administrators who are abreast of curriculum trends, aware of instructional offerings and possibilities, and fully cognizant of the developmental tasks associated with the age groups under their respective jurisdictions. The professional counselor with his basic understanding of vocational theories, personality development, psychology of learning, individual differences, and developmental tasks, as well as his adeptness in evaluation and assessment, should play a key role in helping the head administrator to aid department heads in relating the varied curriculum offerings to the career development of the child.

Career development, as an approach to instruction, must, of course, be carried beyond the theoretical stage and into the classroom. How can this be accomplished in a planned, joint effort by the school as a whole?

Providing an answer to this question represents a major undertaking. Heretofore schoolwide planning of a career-oriented curriculum has been attempted in only a few schools. The results, however, have been encouraging.

Thematic Approach

Some institutions, especially at the elementary and middle school levels, may select a thematic approach. This approach assumes that an institution adopts a mutual, long-term (annual or biannual) theme based on the developmental needs and desired performance goals of its student body. For example, ecology was chosen by one school as a basis for a lengthy project. A decision was made to clean up a badly polluted stream. To do this, science, English, and social studies classes were involved in discovering and reporting the causes and cures of the problem; art classes designed a new park to be located on the banks of the river; students worked with local employers to secure men and machines to do the job of cleaning up the stream; and small-business projects were started to finance the operation.

Another small rural school constructed a radio tower and started a radio station because the students felt their community should have one. Others have set up businesses and even formed stock companies.[1]

Another possible approach that could be taken to provide career-oriented instruction–in this case, on the first-grade level–involves a thorough examination of the family. Here, the teacher begins with a subject familiar to her students but, significantly, explores aspects of family life unfamiliar to them. She examines family members as learners, producers, consumers–as people who use their leisure time wisely.[2]

When the thematic approach is used, all curricular areas should relate their respective offerings to the central theme. Such a theme may well extend into parent-teacher-student association activities. And, as the above-mentioned examples of the thematic approach suggest, the community may become involved in school activities in a significant way. The local Chamber of Commerce might plan a continuing program aimed at aiding the schools in implementing their long-term career development units.

Thematic development along career-oriented lines is fine in theory, of course. But it would be a difficult reform to institute without giving attention to the need for reeducating the faculty. Many teachers are poorly prepared to inform their students about careers that exist in their own communities. Many teachers fail to see their role in the total career development program. Therefore, inservice training sessions will need to be devised to insure that career development becomes a single thread winding through the initial steps of career awareness (provided by such units as the family) to career exploration (usually through actual work observation by students in the middle school), through preparation and placement in the senior high to reeducation on the adult level. This inservice training could be carried out in small groups labeled "child development" or "career development" led by professional counselors or other adept personnel.

Career Development: A Cooperative Thrust of the School and Its Community

As the U.S. Office of Education works toward the development of a Comprehensive Career Education Model, several school systems have developed K-12 Career Development Models. In some models, the realization of the stated objectives and procedures demands a cooperative thrust of the total school and community.

Utilizing the Baltimore County Board of Education *K-12 Career Development Model* by Baginski et al., it's possible to focus on career development from each of the three general educational levels and note the full need for the school, home, and community to work conjointly.

On the elementary level, objectives relating to career development can be stated as follows:

1. To enable pupils to discuss and describe the involvement of their *parents* in the work process;
2. To enable pupils to describe the participation of their *neighbors* in the work process;
3. To enable pupils to see the many *jobs performed in the school community*;
4. To help pupils develop a definition of work as evidenced in the *home and community*.

The suggested procedures cover such activities as:

1. Watching a filmstrip series;
2. Touring the school to see people at work;
3. Bringing specific school workers into the classroom to discuss their jobs;
4. Reporting on parents' work activities, drawing pictures, making photographs, or taping parental descriptions of work activities;
5. Bringing parents who represent a variety of work activities into class for a round table discussion.

This one principle initiated in the primary grades calls for a utilization of parents, community, and school resources. It involves students going into the community and, conversely, the community coming into the school to help in the development of the child. Although the plan exists on an elementary level, it represents cooperation between the school and the community.

In a sampling from the middle school level, we see that the student is expected to make some significant decisions regarding the course of study he hopes to pursue in senior high school. In other words, he is expected to take a hand in pinpointing his major fields of interest and in deciding how best he can prepare himself to achieve competence in these fields, keeping tentative career goals in mind as he makes his decisions.

One corresponding objective is to have students recognize the correlation between the subjects within their program of study and the requirements of various occupational clusters. The suggested procedures for fulfilling the objective include classroom visits by senior high personnel to explain and describe course offerings and programs, as well as plans for teachers to present occupational information relevant to their subject areas, with the counselor serving as a consultant.

Once again the model involves persons from several settings, thus supporting the thesis that career development cannot be executed in isolation; it must be a cooperative thrust.

To utilize the Baltimore County *K-12 Career Development Model* one step further, let's review a principle and its accompanying objectives and procedures for the senior high school.

The principle states:

> Vocational success involves not only earning a living, but gaining personal satisfaction and social usefulness.

Some of the accompanying objectives are:

1. To provide opportunities for students to further extend their career information through curriculum-related activities;
2. To recognize the need of students to participate actively in the work world;
3. To assist the student in developing an understanding that work is an opportunity for self-fulfillment.

The suggested procedures include the following:

1. Organize career discussion groups led by community resource persons as a means of making career information more personal and meaningful;
2. Provide opportunities for students to participate in a variety of field experiences and on-the-job observation.

If students are to have "hands-on" experiences, the community and school must provide the opportunity for such experiences. Hospitals, social service agencies, industry, theaters, shopping centers, banks, city halls, correctional and rehabilitation centers, elementary schools, bakeries, car dealers – to cite a few – will have to be approached, briefed, and urged to join forces with the schools in helping to offer career development possibilities for all youth. Community agencies and businesses must consider the creation or reservation of "job spots" to be filled biweekly by volunteers on a rotating basis. Agencies and businesses must consider offering more in-plant tours and long-term observation periods by students. Agencies and businesses must be willing to supply work slots for students; unions must also be a part of the thrust so that all community forces are working cooperatively to foster an environment in which real learning can take place.

In reference to "hands-on" experiences and field observation, it should be recognized that each local system is itself big business. The job range is varied and extensive. Therefore, it behooves the local board of education to utilize every possible job in the school to demonstrate career possibilities to students.

Likewise, simulated on-the-job experiences must be provided within the walls of the school where circumstances preclude real-life onsite involvement.

Innovative Approaches

Each system must develop its own approaches to career development–approaches that meet its particular needs. However, a few suggestions might give the reader an idea of the scope of possibilities being discussed today.

Walk-In Centers

Schools may open Career Education walk-in centers that might be housed within schools, in shopping centers, or in community centers. Walk-in facilities would serve dropouts, parents, out-of-school youth, graduates, and anyone who wishes to learn more about Career Education. The center might provide counseling, or it might simply provide an amalgamation of materials–i.e., job briefs, brochures, and computerized career data. Converted school buses and trailer trucks might well become "walk-in" centers.

Parent Classes

Short-term classes may be inaugurated for parents, centered around some phase or phases of career development. Follow-up studies verify that despite the daily involvement of the school in the lives of young people, parents exert the greatest influence on youth and their career choices. Thus, education for the parent becomes education for the child.

School-Industry Exchanges

Entire faculties, not just counselors and work-study coordinators, need to be given organized tours of industrial plants with formalized discussions following. Conversely, industrial personnel directors and board officials need to spend a day in a local school becoming fully familiarized with the current goals, trends, offerings, and student dynamics.

If such exchanges are to be effective, they must be planned carefully to add significantly to the understanding of all the parties involved. When they are approached in this manner, school-industry exchanges can result in real material benefits.

Assessment Buses

Some systems have established portable mobile units used for vocational evaluation purposes. Community sponsored school bonds might well support the development of "Assessment Buses" that could offer students by day and adults by night a multi-dimensional approach to career assessment. Psychometric testing, simulated work, and an analytical study of personal behavior might be major components.

Moving Photographic Career Library

As the Career Education concept is further crystallized, subject matter and career development will become more and more integrated. Teachers of academic courses will be asked to relate their subjects to such goals as awareness, appreciation of self, attitudinal development, and career direction. To facilitate the teacher's task, several portable, highly illustrative displays may be provided by business and professional agencies to help students and teachers pinpoint the relationship of classroom theory to real work. These displays could move from school to school with an average of 10-20 large displays a year being viewed in each school.

Imperatives

As the cooperative effort by school, parents, and community results in a greater acceptance of Career Education and career development, two imperatives must be faced. First, the professional counselor must be able to coordinate the entire effort to implement career development in schools. Secondly, organized efforts must be made to revise and update child labor laws that primarily are too archaic for the modern-day approach to Career Education. By requiring a child to be 16 before he can legally work, these laws hinder the schools in their attempt to give 13, 14, and 15-year-olds work experience. Most of these laws vary from state to state; therefore, local communities must initiate the thrust.

In the same way, agencies concerned with employment and employment security should be encouraged to work with the schools to make their services available to students and staff alike so that the latter know local employment conditions. If this is not done, schools will be preparing students for jobs that may not be readily available in their particular localities or that will not be significant in the future. Indeed, the whole question of providing adequate and realistic counseling to meet present and future employment conditions must be one of our major Career Education concerns.

Conclusion

Career development embraces the total development of youth. It enhances academic preparation. True career development accentuates the development of attitudes, understandings, and self-awareness, as well as the development of job skills. Career development cannot be taught in isolation. It involves many disciplines and forces; it is a total school concept. Career development cannot be confined to mortar-sealed brick walls; its boundaries are limitless. For Career Education to become a true reality, the school and community must join hands and cooperatively push forward so that youth—all youth—may come to know and develop themselves.

Footnotes

1. Kenneth Hoyt et al., *Career Education: What It Is and How To Do It* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 79-80.
2. Keith Goldhammer and Robert Taylor, *Career Education: Perspective and Promise* (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishers Company, 1972), pp. 261-271.

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His 40 years of experience as a teacher and administrator have made Dr. Letson a dedicated advocate of Career Education as a workable and urgent priority alternative to traditional public school education. In this essay Dr. Letson looks at Career Education with the student in mind and discusses the impact he feels Career Education could have upon the lives of young people and upon their attitudes toward their school experience.

John W. Letson

The Potential of Career Education

Education has been both blessed and afflicted with innovative movements. New approaches have developed as the need for change has become apparent. In some instances the innovations gave promise of really revolutionizing the static patterns of the past. Some improvement did result from these various programs, but by and large education has undergone few fundamental changes over the years.

Many innovative proposals of great promise did not live up to their projected expectations because they were oversold as something entirely new and different. Career Education, however, is not really new or different. It is merely an effort to use a different kind of orientation for pupils in the belief that a new orientation can be the basis for stimulating a kind of response that the traditional academic approach has not achieved for approximately half of the student population. Also, Career Education is a concept that recognizes the urgent necessity of making sure that every pupil is prepared through education to find his proper place in the society and the economy.

For many, the increasing complexity of the world is baffling. Young people must make value judgments and career decisions on a much broader spectrum of possibilities and potentialities than ever before in history.

Although exceptions exist, the school usually assumes that its job is finished when a pupil drops out or graduates. It has not been generally recognized that education has a responsibility to make sure that all pupils make a successful transition to a job or further training or that the school has a responsibility to maintain a helpful relationship with them.

A report recently presented to the Atlanta Board of Education showed that all except about 200 of last year's graduating seniors either found jobs or were involved in additional training. In most cases, however, this was by accident rather than the result of anything we as a school system did to bring it about. Fortunately, the percentage of satisfactory employment was relatively high. But had we been able to include the employment rate among our dropouts, the overall picture might not have been so favorable. To a small degree other public agencies are involved in helping pupils find jobs, but it is becoming increasingly apparent that the school must assume more and more responsibility for helping its pupils make the transition from school to work.

The time has come for education to answer some hard questions. The answers to those questions will determine the future of Career Education as a movement designed to bring about better and more relevant educational opportunities for all pupils.

To what extent is education oriented toward dignifying the whole spectrum of honest work? To what extent do we as educators leave the impression that success in life is inevitably related to college attendance? Is the high school curriculum broadly conceived to meet adequately the needs of all pupils—those who will attend college and those who will not—or is it heavily weighted in favor of the approximately 20 percent who will achieve a college degree? Is it possible to individualize instruction in a manner that adequately serves the needs of both groups, or must we continue merely to give lip service to this goal? Is an educational program that adequately serves the noncollege-bound group inadequate for pupils who will attend a college or university? Has education lulled itself into believing that the traditional college preparatory program is the best way to stimulate and challenge able students to maximum achievement? Can we utilize a career interest to achieve a degree of pupil motivation and academic accomplishment not now a part of the experience of many pupils?

The answers to these and related questions constitute the purpose and goals of Career Education. However, we must not permit confusion about the term "Career Education" to develop, or this truly significant effort will be in danger of following the path of other promising but now forgotton innovations.

Career Education is not merely another name for vocational education. If it is so conceived, it is not likely to achieve its full potential. Students who will become research scientists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, or teachers are pursuing careers and are entitled to a preparatory program best suited to their needs. The discovery of better ways to assure maximum progress of all pupils toward their career goals is the purpose of Career Education. And the emphasis should be on "all pupils."

The traditional assumption that academically able students should go into the professions requiring a college degree and that those not academically talented should be guided into the vocational areas rapidly is losing its validity. It is becoming increasingly apparent, for example, that the same kind of ability is required to repair a computer as is required to develop and utilize a computer program. Despite this fact, our educational program and community values still assign a higher prestige to the man who operates a computer than to the man who repairs it. Hopefully, Career Education can contribute to the elimination of these artificial standards.

The popular assumption that vocational-technical programs were designed for the less able student is invalid, a fact that too many teachers and pupils still don't realize. Pupils, of course, frequently are influenced in this direction by their parents. Consciously or unconsciously, both parents and teachers often transmit the impression that jobs that call for manual skills are undesirable.

John W. Letson

Are Atlanta teachers aware of the fact, and do they make it known to parents and pupils, that the city for the second straight year has topped the national list of housing permits per thousand population? Further, can teachers describe the thousands of jobs that support this industry?

By contrast, is it made known to pupils that Ph.D's also are numbered among the unemployed? Perhaps of greater significance is the educational program designed to make it possible for pupils to visit and talk with craftsmen and scientists about their work. Do teachers and pupils know, for example, that the average pharmacist spends 50 percent of his time counting pills, 10 percent of his time talking on the phone to physicians, and most of the rest of his time stocking shelves?

Possibly most important of all, do our students know the satisfaction to be derived from work well done? Can they, through experience, talk about the precision of a dove-tail joint or the poetry and beauty in a finished piece of furniture, and share with others the satisfaction of having achieved a perfectly adjusted engine?

It is unlikely that teacher or student has heard an orthodontist describe how a teen-ager beamed when the braces were finally removed, but such an experience is an important satisfaction to be derived from his profession. These essential parts of an educational program are not achieved through the usual academic approach. Career Education, on the other hand, seeks to incorporate varied, meaningful, and real learning experiences into the educational program of all pupils.

The fact that the traditional academic approach does not work for many pupils supports the urgent need for reorienting the educational process to eliminate this deficiency. Let me illustrate. I have asked on several occasions at schools whether or not pupils had been taken into the boiler room on a field trip. I have found that on many occasions pupils and classes went to the library to look at pictures of boilers, they read about steam and its generation, and they looked at films and filmstrips about steam and its properties. Seldom, however, have I found a teacher who led his class to the boiler room as a learning experience. Obviously, there is no magic about such a field trip. Nevertheless, the fact that such a field trip is seldom taken illustrates education's academic orientation as well as almost complete dependence on academic learning activities even when alternatives are readily available.

As I look back on my own school days, the things that I remember most vividly are the experiences that included an opportunity to see and feel and use materials or actually to participate in a meaningful activity. A pupil can read about chickens hatching in an incubator or under a hen, but if he has not actually seen it happen, it is less vivid and meaningful to him. To a large extent we have limited education to academic vicarious experiences. This academic process works well for only about half our students. We have mistakenly assumed that those who do not respond to the academic approach are unintelligent or that they can't learn. In most instances this is not true, but it is an indication that we have not yet discovered or implemented the educational process that will make it possible for all pupils to learn.

The present emphasis on Career Education is based on the belief that through the utilization of a career interest pupils can be motivated to higher academic achievement. At the same time, it is hoped that Career Education will accomplish the important purpose of helping students understand the opportunities that exist in the world of work. They should be able to do some realistic thinking about their own place in the world and how they can move step-by-step to accomplish their own goals. That is what Career Education is about. How effectively we move toward the achievement of these purposes will be related directly to the skill we demonstrate in translating the concept into action. I think it will be a serious mistake if we present, through a "Madison Avenue" approach, the impression that we are embarking on a dramatically new and different educational course. What we are talking about is what good teachers and good schools have been doing for generations. Simply, Career Education is the continued effort to discover those techniques, approaches, and curriculum content that will most challenge, stimulate, and interest all pupils.

The aim of Career Education is not necessarily to accomplish an early career choice. Neither is it envisioned that vocational counselors will give a series of tests and then confidentially advise pupils which career direction to take. This by itself is not good vocational counseling, and certainly it is not the goal of Career Education. Through a career emphasis pupils hopefully will have educational experiences that help them develop skill in making wise choices–choices that lead in the direction of personal responsibility, acceptable conduct, and appropriate performance in all areas of living. Career Education, if properly implemented, will provide an opportunity to redirect the curriculum to include a career emphasis as a means of stimulating and motivating pupils to higher achievement. Further, it will provide an opportunity to put into effect what we have long known-that first-hand, real experiences contribute to better learning than the typical academic experience of sitting passively at a desk attempting to absorb "an education."

As teachers, we should be able to devise creative activities that stimulate children and young people to progress academically and consecutively to develop an improved self-image through better understanding of career objectives and goals. Of course, it is easier to talk about such a goal than it is to accomplish it–the payoff is related to our ability to plan day-to-day activities that stimulate children and young people to maximum achievement.

It is most important that the Career Education concept be properly explained to parents. Recently, for example, a meeting of about 80 Atlanta parents was called to consider the organization of a private educational program because of misinformation about the Atlanta schools' emphasis on vocational education. The parents in attendance assumed that *vocational* and *career* education referred to the same educational approach, and they did not want their sons and daughters taking vocational education. This, of course, reflected a misconception about the nature of both career and vocational education, but it clearly establishes the need for community involvement as the Career Education program develops. Regrettably, we have permitted vocational education to develop such an unfavorable image; it will be even more unfortunate, however, if we transmit this unfavorable image to Career Education through the use of the term as a synonym.

Through community involvement, parents must be assured that Career Education is not a program designed to channel young people into limited careers. Opening doors and keeping them open for all pupils would be a more accurate description of the career program. It is our general high school program that fails so miserably to open desirable career doors for so many.

I often have wondered what happened to the convictions of an earlier day that a brick layer who had the ability could become the largest contractor in the Nation. Has education helped to stifle the American concept that it is not where you start, but how you move from the point of beginning to where you want to go, that determines success and happiness, and that the option to take these upward steps is open to all?

Some will say, of course, that only the naive could hold such outmoded and old-fashioned concepts. They may be partially correct. But many illustrations prove that in part they also are wrong. Education is under an obligation to demonstrate that the opportunities exist. Hundreds of pupils–dropouts and graduates–are leaving our schools with little or no understanding of job opportunities. Many assume that the only place to look for a job is at a filling station or at a store. Too many are familiar with only those things they have seen.

Years ago when children walked down the street, they saw the blacksmith at work, the cabinet maker in his shop, and the agricultural pursuits of a calmer and quieter day being carried on by friends and neighbors. Today most work activities are carried on behind barriers pupils cannot see over. I have asked pupils, "What does your father do?" A typical answer is, "My father works at Lockheed." When pressed to explain exactly what his father does at Lockheed, rarely does a pupil answer with full understanding of his father's assignment. Certainly, this all too common lack of understanding of the world of work indicates an area of needed improvement. Education directed toward career interests offers a golden opportunity to make sure that all pupils are sufficiently well informed about the world of work to make wise personal choices.

As the Career Education concept is translated into day-by-day activities for pupils, it will become increasingly apparent that the school and the community it serves will join in a way that educators have long talked about. We still proceed in education as though it were better to sit in a classroom and read about something than to go and see it. One reason, of course, is that it is easy to do and is relatively inexpensive. Hopefully, the implementation of an educational program that utilizes career interest will contribute to moving the school into the community to a greater degree than is now the case. How this can be done best must be hammered out; but if a new relationship between the school and community results, it will be one of the valuable accomplishments of Career Education.

Again, however, Career Education must not be considered just another project to operate on the periphery of the school program. Changes do not come easily, but Career Education will not live up to its potential if it is conceived as something added on or as something supplemental to "business as usual." What is involved is the instructional process itself and how we can make it more meaningful for pupils.

The record speaks for itself as to the need for education to be made more meaningful for more pupils. Somehow or other, education too often has become the process of merely doing what the teacher assigns: do your homework, come to class and report, get more homework assigned to report on the next day. Individual motivation is too infrequently a part of the educational process, even though we know that it is easier to get pupils committed, involved, and concerned about those things *they* wish to accomplish. Career Education can become the instrument that stimulates a kind of educational program that is more self-directed–one in which every pupil can succeed.

It is really tragic that so many pupils leave school convinced they are failures. In this connection, Career Education offers no magic improvement. But if its potential is realized, it can result in better education for thousands of pupils.

Dale Parnell, Oregon's Superintendent of Public Instruction since 1968, was an electrician before he became a teacher, high school principal, county superintendent and community college president. This forceful advocate of Career Education has been instrumental in helping Oregon rewrite school graduation requirements to include competencies in career decisionmaking and preparation.

Dr. Parnell sees Career Education as "survival insurance" for a society that expects its members not only to produce goals and provide services, but to understand the complexities of insurance, credit cards, zoning laws, governmental institutions and legal contracts. He links Career Education to basic human needs shared by all persons and calls for major revamping of the school curriculum to reflect the roles people play as family members, as workers, as citizen-consumers and as users of leisure time.

Career Education and the School Curriculum

Dale Parnell

When bones become disjointed they are painful and demand attention. All of the rhetoric in the world will not bring the bones back into harmony or natural congruence with each other. It takes skillful, purposeful action, and you wouldn't be happy if the physician came within a bone or two of correcting the problem.

Likewise, when some major segment of society, such as schooling, becomes out of joint or in a state of disharmony with the needs of individuals and the needs of society, it hurts and demands attention. We have many signals that indicate a lack of congruence between individual and societal "needs" and the results of schooling. Books, articles, television programs, and political speeches all are indicating, to some degree, a sense of frustration with modern schools and colleges; indeed, they are expressing in various ways the need to build a greater degree of congruence into the education process.

Now, rhetoric may sell books and magazines, but it will not "rejoin the bones." That takes skillful action on the part of decisionmakers and managers in the educational enterprise. We must drive ourselves back to the beginning and take a good look at individual and societal needs and decide what we want schools and colleges to accomplish in relationship to these needs.

The simplest way to reorganize schools and colleges would be to leave the structure fairly intact but change the goals and reduce the slippage between needs, goals, and action. One fundamental principle that undergirds any organization has to do with goals. Everything in an organization must be measured against the goals and objectives of the organization. When goals and objectives are out of focus, actions of the organization staff and patrons tend to take on the same complexion. One of the reasons dissatisfaction often is expressed about modern schools is that we have failed to match in any systematic way the goals of schooling with the needs of contemporary individuals and modern society.

Philosophical Base for Career Education

Maslow's Theory of Basic Human Needs

Abraham Maslow's theory of basic human needs provides an instructive insight for understanding the purpose of education. He contends that the human being is motivated by several basic needs. These needs are intrinsic. They cannot be killed by culture—only repressed.[1]

Dr. Maslow postulates that the basic human needs are organized into a need hierarchy of relative potency. Throughout his life a person is always desiring something and "rarely reaches a state of complete satisfaction except for a short time. As one desire is satisfied another pops up to take its place."[2]

Even though one cannot confine the need hierarchy to a literal and consistent posture, it can be stated safely that the basic needs generally are desired in a hierarchical order. Most individuals in American society have partially satisfied many basic needs, while still maintaining, unsatisfied, some basic needs that motivate and drive a person. Frank Goble has stated: "Dr. Maslow found that individuals who satisfy their basic needs are healthier, happier, and more effective, while those whose needs are frustrated develop psychopathological symptoms."[3]

The most powerful and basic need is for survival—both physiological and emotional.

Dr. Maslow indicates that once the survival needs are satisfied to a degree, safety needs emerge. Any good teacher of young children has found that the child needs a secure world. When security and a degree of consistency are absent, the child becomes anxious.

With a predominance of survival and safety needs met, the needs for love and belongingness emerge.

The fourth level of need revolves around at least two aspects of esteem needs—self-esteem and respect from others. Self-esteem needs include competence, confidence, achievement, and independence.

Finally, Dr. Maslow finds that the need for self-actualization generally emerges after adequate satisfaction of the love and esteem needs. This highest level of need stems from that constant human drive to explore the human potential and nurture that potential into all it can become. In a later work, *Toward A Psychology of Being*, Dr. Maslow describes a whole list of higher-level needs he calls growth needs.[4] However, it is important to point out that Dr. Maslow and many of his colleagues continue to state that this higher nature of man requires that the lower nature needs first be met.

Now, what does a hierarchy of needs have to do with the goals and purposes of schooling? The first purpose of the great American dream called universal schooling is to meet each individual at the point of his or her need. (Unfortunately, schools and colleges too often meet students at the point of *institutional* rather than *student* need.) One must look at the basic needs of human beings to gain an understanding of student need. If the first level of need is survival, does it make sense to force him or her to sit through the self-actualizing experiences of Shakespeare and Homer and ignore the survival needs? This is not to intimate that literature is unimportant, but only that if schools and colleges are to meet students at the point of their greatest need, the motivational aspects of the graduated scale of need must be recognized.

Human needs are motivational in nature and must be met, at least partially, in rank order. The postulate expressed here is that American schools and colleges often aim for the self-actualizing and higher-level needs while ignoring survival and security needs. What competencies are required to survive during the last quarter of this century? What kinds of competencies are required to cope successfully with life as a citizen, wage earner, consumer, and learner? Career Education can develop those competencies and help to meet basic human needs. This will mean that students will be different, that schools will be different, that teachers will teach differently, and that management will operate differently. If schooling can focus on the real-life career roles of individuals and the competencies needed to cope with those careers and roles, the immediate prospect is positive change.

Identification of Roles

A role is usually described as something that an individual performs throughout the course of his life. The role is defined by the expectations that an individual and others have for it as well as by certain ideal norms that society in general attaches to it. The roles of "life careers" with which all of us are simultaneously involved include the roles of being an individual (being myself, being an "I"), a family member, a producer, a consumer, and a citizen. (The role of being an individual would include such subroles as being a life-long learner; being a participant in avocational pursuits and leisure activities; and being aware of and committed to aesthetic, moral, health, and religious values.)

Relating Education to Roles

The question becomes, how does schooling relate to those roles? Successful performance in those roles requires more than knowledge; yet for some educators the main business of education is knowledge dissemination. Students could be told about their life careers or roles, and could memorize information relating to those roles. But that is not the same as the recognition that they are living those roles every day, in fact are experiencing those roles with or without the kind of schooling that would help enable them to achieve a measure of success and fulfillment—yes, even survival—in those roles.

Providing the kind of schooling that would meet that objective is the aim of Career Education.

Career Education and the School Curriculum

The reason why Career Education as survival insurance is the most important educational trend today is clear enough: the educational establishment itself is finally convinced that traditional schooling is not meeting survival needs. An honest evaluation reveals that the modern schools are failing to meet a majority of the needs of a majority of students. The statistics are depressingly familiar and need not be cited here. However, one major reason for incomplete performance by schools is that many of our educational traditions stem from the first quarter of the 20th century and even earlier. Far too many of our educational requirements, including those for high school graduation and teacher certification, are based on the needs of the society of 40 and 50 years ago. Children, indeed, have outgrown present-day schools, as James S. Coleman pointed out in the title of his now-famous article in *Psychology Today*.[5]

Dr. Coleman called the society of 50 years ago "information poor but experience rich." People received most of their information from books or from neighbors. But they were involved in all kinds of personal experiences through which they learned to know and to do the things that helped them cope with their kind of world. Children in the rural society were given chores, given responsibility; and, whether through trial and error or imitation, they learned practical skills and gained self-confidence and the respect of others.

Today we live in a different society–an information-rich society. In fact, children acquire so much information from television that many may suffer from *too much* data. They are not emotionally equipped to assimilate or interpret all they see and hear. They have not had the personal experience that provides realistic perspective. They see a president shot before their eyes and brutal scenes of wartime combat, but they may never have seen a dead rabbit or suffered the loss of a pet dog. When they enter the classroom they are confronted with even more information, often as ambiguous and generally less interesting than that on television.

How, then, can schools provide experiences that will enable students to relate information to living, to the real-life roles that constitute a part of living for all but a few of the most handicapped? That is the question that Career Education can answer. That is the essence of making schooling relevant to the total human need.

Career Education is wholly student oriented. It uses knowledge, values, and skills as a means to the students' ends, not as ends in themselves. In the Career Education curriculum, knowledge must be functionally related to the range of life careers or roles in which the individual will participate. In other words, it is education for survival in our contemporary society. That implies some rigorous demands and discipline, not just on and for students but on and for educators. It does not mean that everything will be easier. It does mean that student motivation based on a ranked order of needs will be a major consideration.

Dale Parnell

If Career Education is to work, a basic change in our attitudes must occur. We can no longer continue to give lip service to the American ideal of the dignity and worth of each individual and of our ability to provide equal educational opportunity for each individual to develop to his fullest capacity. We must believe it, and live it, and design school programs to fit it. Essentially, this must stem from the firm conviction that education is not knowledge alone. Education must include the right kinds of experiences, i.e., those experiences designed to meet the student at the point of his or her needs and enhance the potential for fulfillment in life roles. Concomitant to this, of course, is a commitment to the notion that schools exist to help students develop the competencies they need to negotiate real life at the survival level as well as the self-actualization level.

Career Education Is Not Vocational Education

Let it be emphasized again that Career Education is not synonymous with vocational education, although the latter is a significant aspect of Career Education.

American education has suffered from a misunderstanding of the place and value of vocational education. Unfortunately, the image in the minds of too many people is that vocational education is a group of boys gathered around an old car. Instead, it is a way to help young people develop the competencies they need to be wage earners and producers. It must be one of the primary goals of schooling.

New Competencies Demanded

If one can accept the premise that schooling must help students develop the competencies to cope successfully with life roles, then it follows that life roles must be examined. What competencies are required? Have life roles changed much in recent years?

Compared with 50 years ago, there are fewer, larger, and more complex units of government for today's citizen to understand.

Today's young citizen is faced with high-speed automobiles, freeways, and an abundance of alcohol and drugs. He must be concerned with physical survival in a very real sense.

The rural-urban shift has brought a proliferation of zoning laws. How many people understand them?

Students are voting at age 18. They know about George Washington and the Incas of Peru, but do they know how their city council or school board works?

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Fifty years ago, when school requirements were established, no one carried credit cards. Are young people being prepared to cope with today's installment buying, contracts, insurance, and advertising tactics?

Do they know how to protect their rights as consumers?

One frequently overlooked role is that of the individual as learner. How much learning should come from the traditional classroom situation and how much should come from television or real-life experiences, such as work and travel?

A high school diploma is a minimal prerequisite for getting a job in many areas of the business world. But to be meaningful in this society, the high school diploma should specify what competencies the student has demonstrated. For the student who will want to work in manual or craftsman-type jobs, let's stop requiring more years of schooling and concentrate rather on strengthening the 12 years he now receives.

Ivar Berg, in his book *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*, challenges the notion that "education pays, stay in school."[6] This notion has permeated society in negative as well as positive ways. It has caused unnecessary upgrading of educational requirements for jobs and an increasing surplus of educated people in relation to the jobs available.

In his study, Berg found that years of formal schooling are not significantly correlated to job performance; training on the job is more beneficial in terms of performance than credentials; and teachers with more degrees or schooling are not necessarily better teachers. He concluded that we ought to do a better job of educating all people with 12 years of schooling instead of spending large amounts of money in higher education for a select few.

Traditionally, we have furthered the undesirable and counter-productive separation of the vocational education, general education, and academic curriculums in our high schools. The result of this separation is that those in the vocational curriculum often are seen as low-status technicians, while students in the academic curriculum emerge with little contact with, preparation toward, or qualification for the world of work.

Changing Our Priorities

What changes can be anticipated in the schools as a result of clear goals and emphasis on helping students develop the competencies to fulfill successfully all life roles, particularly the role of wage earner?

Today we are dealing with a minority of needs of a minority of students. We must start again at the beginning and reexamine what schooling is to accomplish. Basically, we are still a cottage industry in education. About all that holds this "nonsystem" together are a lot of able teachers and hard-working administrators.

What can we do to meet a majority of the needs of a majority of students? The answers to this question are surprisingly pragmatic.

Decisionmaking Should Occur in State Legislatures

Clear signals are required to remove the fuzziness about the results desired from schooling. Each state legislature must review the general goals and purposes of schools and colleges. Until recently educators have gone to the legislature and said, "Give us money. Don't tell us what to do, just give us more money." What would you think if you went to a store to buy something and the clerk said, "You just give me the money and I'll give you what's good for you"?

Legislators don't want to have to involve themselves with specifics, but they do want some choice in deciding what they are buying. It seems perfectly legitimate for legislators to tell educators *what* to accomplish, yet with a further charge, "You figure out how to do it." This is the type of access to decision-making legislators can and should have.

Here is the kind of goal a legislature might consider writing into law:

> The education of the elementary and secondary school student results from a combined effort of home, church, and community. It shall be the *primary* responsibility of the schools of this state to help students develop individual competencies to function as *citizens, consumers, producers*, and *lifelong learners*. The schools have shared responsibility and a *secondary* role in helping students with physical, social, emotional, cultural, and ethical-moral development. It is important the schools support and reinforce the home and other community institutions in these areas.

With these priorities in mind, educators can begin to update school requirements and to define areas for which schools should be held primarily accountable. Under the present system the public holds schools accountable for results they haven't the remotest possibility of producing. Schooling must look at survival needs like helping the student become a wage earner or a wise consumer first and other needs second.

Guidelines Can Be Developed by State Departments of Education

Once legislative goals are established, State-level educators must exercise leadership by planning how these goals can be reached.

To implement Oregon's first priority goal to improve Career Education, local districts were asked to spell out in their own local plans where they were, where they hoped to be in 5 years, and what processes they would use to get there. They were asked to identify feedback indicators to be used to measure progress.

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Districts were encouraged to use the State plan as a suggested blueprint for designing their own plans as they wished. Once their plans were filed with the State board of education, they became the minimum legal standards for achievement in each area.

In an effort to make schooling more relevant to the needs of the 1970's, Oregon's high school graduation requirements have been subjected to the most thorough revision in 50 years. Under the proposed new requirements, exposure to a subject for a required length of time is not enough. Instead, the student must demonstrate competencies as a consumer, a producer, a learner, and a citizen. If the student leaves school early, he or she will be issued a certificate showing what competencies he has demonstrated by the date of his departure.

To encourage a student to prepare for an occupational role, he or she is being required to earn one high school credit in a cluster or family of occupations. Expanded vocational education programs have won widespread acceptance. In 2 years, Oregon has doubled enrollment in high school vocational education or career cluster programs and in community college courses as well.

Citizenship education is being separated from social studies. Students are encouraged to work for school credit in community service. Many students are learning about their communities by working with city councils, school boards, elementary schools, nursing homes, hospitals, and other components of the community. This experience will help them develop competencies for citizenship and a feeling of responsibility and pride in their communities.

The System Is Designed to Motivate Students

Today, formal education seems to be the passport to full citizenship; school credits, diplomas, and licenses seem to be the milestones. Schooling literally has become both a bridge and a barrier between an individual and his ability to earn his living. Without adequate schooling, a citizen is economically obsolete before he begins to work. But much traditional schooling is unrelated to the real world. Small wonder our present approach to universal education sees many young people bored, restless, and provided with few opportunities to relate school life to real life and the hierarchy of human needs.

William Glasser has observed that the most common characteristic of delinquent young people is hopelessness and goalessness.[7] They may be intelligent and physically attractive, but because they rarely experience success they cannot imagine that they will succeed in the future. It has been the experience of this writer that the vital ingredients for a successful schooling experience are involvement and relevance. Glasser has found in questioning thousands of students that they did not see much value in most of the material they were expected to learn.

When pertinence and meaning are present in the curriculum and daily school experiences, students will be motivated to learn.

While recently helping my son register for his first year in high school, a revealing syndrome came to light. This particular high school required the student to indicate on the registration form the selection of a track. The first track was "advanced or college prep," the second was "terminal," and the third was "remedial." Our response was easy. We sent the registration form back to the school and asked for more choices. We wanted real-life options, not a sorting system that gives the college-prep program top billing.

Walter Lippmann has said that we all operate on the basis of pictures in our heads, not on real facts. Unfortunately, we've developed in the schools and in the minds of the public, some images that demand correction.

For example, one image dictates that the important thing in life is to teach in the university; if you can't do that, you teach in a high school; if you can't do anything else, you teach in an elementary school. In fact, in terms of raw human need, the most important teaching job in all education is in the primary grades. Nothing in education is more important.

How about the high school tracking system? Regardless of our rhetoric, we indicate that preparation for college is advanced and everything else is second best. This system must be replaced by emphasis on life roles with Career Education providing the relevance, the involvement, and the motivation.

Teachers and the Curriculum Will Change

First, all of basic education must be infused with practical examples from the world of work and life roles. Even students in the primary grades must be able to see some relationship between what they are learning and the utility of that learning. Indeed, career awareness in the elementary schools should bring more life, more meaning, more experience, and more rigor to these early schooling experiences. Why not develop readers and library collections around world of work themes?

The real challenge to the American elementary and secondary school teacher is to infuse his or her daily teaching with practical examples from labor, business, industry, military, government, and home. The real challenge is to indicate to students how what they are studying measures up to life and human needs.

Of course changes in teacher education will be necessary if Career Education is to function in the classroom.

Second, career exploration in the middle grades can bring new purpose to those difficult adolescent years. Exploration does not mean that students will visit a little in the community or that they will talk a bit about jobs. Career exploration demands a multi-disciplinary approach with industrial arts and homemaking teachers leading the way. The new industrial arts program will explore all of the clusters and families of occupations, of which some 15 to 18 with such titles as health occupations and mechanics occupations are identified. Boys and girls in the middle years should be able to explore all of the clusters, not just some of them. Generally, the industrial arts program has been limited to boys dealing with metals, plastics, electricity, and wood.

The challenge for the industrial arts program is to bring girls into the program and provide more meaning and more vigor for the total middle-school curriculum. For example, in the world of construction the building of a bridge can be a beautiful example. Teachers must not only *talk* about the occupations involved in mixing mortar and cement, they must let students lay up a brick wall and experience the mixing of mortar. But that isn't all. The illustration of building a bridge provides tremendous opportunities for basic education disciplines. Who planned the bridge and how was the planning done? How was money raised to pay for the bridge? These and similar questions can stimulate exploration of a great many important questions related to the basic survival skills mentioned earlier.

At the end of a 3- or 4-year period, students will have explored all the major clusters or families of occupations and had actual working experiences related to significant aspects of these occupations. They also will have begun to understand the relationships involved between economics, mathematics, communications, and other disciplines.

The third major change needed is to integrate what has been called general education with Career Education in the secondary schools by following the career-cluster approach. The career-cluster concept is aimed at the development of skills and understandings that relate to a family of occupational fields. To put it another way, a cluster of occupations is a logical group of selected occupations, related because they include similar teachable skill and knowledge requirements. High school education, then, will be centered primarily on the knowledge and skills common to the occupations that comprise a cluster or family. This not only serves as a motivational tool but will prepare students for entry into a family of occupations rather than into a specific occupation.

One of the most critical needs in Career Education today is for the high schools, community colleges, and technical-vocational schools to articulate and coordinate preparatory and specific career training programs. Secondary schools should offer preparatory Career Education and training. Community colleges, private vocational schools, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training programs should offer specific job training and should coordinate the other nonschool on-the-job training program efforts. Secondary schools must concentrate on career training in the broad-cluster concept rather than specific job training. Students should be able to select a career cluster at the beginning of their high school experience and then tie a majority of their high school experiences into this generalized goal. This will not involve so much a change in facilities or curriculum as a change in guidance and counseling patterns and a change in the way a secondary school curriculum is outlined.

What we are really calling for is a change in thinking so that preparation for a career becomes accepted as one of the clear and primary management objectives of the secondary school.

In the future, a student's curriculum "menu" is likely to include the following career-cluster options: accounting, agriculture, clerical, construction, domestic and custodial, electrical, food service, graphic arts, health, marketing, managerial, mechanical and repair, metals, secretarial, social services, textiles, transportation, and wood products.

A well-planned and successful Career Education program also should have great impact on teacher morale and on professional pride and satisfaction. In all the criticism of public education, much is made of incompetent instruction, apathetic educators, resistance to innovation, and other negative observations. Seldom do we stop to think that teachers are a dedicated group. Many entered education because they were idealistic and wanted to help young people. The majority of teachers sincerely want their students to develop to their fullest potential. But teachers have been frustrated—as frustrated as their students—because the educational system itself has unwittingly foiled some of the best plans to improve education. So, if in a Career Education program teachers begin to see young people grow and blossom the way we all want them to, there is built-in satisfaction guaranteed for all concerned.

Nontraditional Facilities Will Be Utilized

Comprehensive Career Education calls for new concepts of the use of space and time. This does not mean widescale tearing down of our present school buildings and replacing them with wholly redesigned facilities. It does mean rethinking our use of present facilities, however. For example, does a food-service career-cluster program require construction of new kitchen facilities, or can the present school cafeteria be utilized as a laboratory?

Since Career Education includes much more than vocational education, some of the learning in a Career Education program takes place outside the school building and in the community. Citizenship education, consumer education, and education as a family member can include much work in the living laboratory—the real world of shopping, voting, and contributing services to others.

So part of the impact on schools will be a much greater use of space (all the community space around the school) and much more free and flexible use of time. For example, a student might work on a hospital night shift for class credit and not be expected at school until 1 p.m. the next day.

Furthermore, as schooling moves out into the community, the community will move into the schools. This means that community members with expertise in various areas will be brought in to join the teaching team and share in the learning process of students. The year-round school idea will gain wide acceptance as a result.

It is entirely conceivable that the 12th grade will be spent in a nearby community college, in on-the-job training, or in community service. The secondary schools and the community colleges must analyze their facilities and determine areas of cooperation.

High school work done at community colleges might fall into two catagories: (a) the advanced-placement type where high school students can attend a nearby community college and take an occupational program and receive college credit for it; or (b) shared time, shared instructors, and often, shared facilities.

Federal Educational Agencies Should Play a Role

Sidney P. Marland, Jr. has given the notion of Career Education a gigantic push forward by his support. But at least five additional steps must be taken to assure that progress is balanced and swift. It is imperative that each State not be required to reinvent the wheel. Tasks to which the National Institute of Education and the U.S. Office of Education might address themselves include:

1. Identify priority human needs and build a solid, clearly stated philosophical base for Career Education around these needs.
2. Identify points of intervention in the schooling process that promise high level payoff. Where can local school boards achieve the greatest return for their investment? Intervention points that need research and consideration include registration forms and school placement procedures, library books and materials, principals, textbooks, parent handbooks, curriculum guides and catalogs, local and state board policies, and high school graduation requirements.
3. Identify and validate what is really working in American education as related to the initial goals of Career Education. Such a search must include looking at work going on in community colleges, proprietary schools, the armed services, manpower development and training, and multi-disciplinary materials. Not only must the search look at materials, but at exemplary classroom practices. A catalog of exemplary practices and related objectives would be most helpful.

4. Develop some simplified feedback indicators that can be used as evaluation tools for examining the results of Career Education efforts and as instruments by State and local school districts.
5. Continue to examine the excess costs of Career Education, particularly in developmental stages, and present such information to Congress. As a minimum, Congress should be requested to maintain the per-student level of funding that existed prior to the present emphasis.

Conclusion

By giving young people opportunities for various real-life experiences, we also will approach indirectly several problems. Traditionally, we have tried to attack emotional, racial, ethical-moral, and cultural problems directly, by telling people what to do–telling them to be moral, for example. Instead, schooling must do more than telling. It must provide opportunities for students to experience and cope with real situations.

Hopefully, today's student can begin to feel more confident about himself by developing competencies. He can feel tolerant toward others by developing the skills needed for coping with life. We will provide him a healthy atmosphere as rich in experiences as in information. Thus, schooling of the 1970's and 1980's will indeed equip students with survival competencies to enable them to act as independent, contributing citizens in the remaining decades of the 20th century.

Career Education affords students opportunities to meet all the basic human needs–survival, security, belonging, self-esteem, and self-actualization. In this manner, the schooling experience will provide involvement and relevance because human needs will determine the purposes and priorities of education.

Footnotes

1. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).
2. Maslow, "Isomorphic Interrelationships Between Knower and Known," *Sign, Image Symbol* New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1965), p. 136.
3. *The Third Force* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), p. 50.
4. (New York: Van Nostrand, 1962).
5. "The Children Have Outgrown the Schools" in *Psychology Today*, 5 no. 9 (February 1972): 72.
6. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).
7. William Glasser, *Schools Without Failure* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 49.

An experienced junior college administrator and former Professor of Higher Education at the University of Michigan, John F. Grede is Vice Chancellor for Career and Manpower Programs for the City Colleges of Chicago.

Dr. Grede suggests that a workable approach to Career Education is developing in the community college programs of this country. He notes that community colleges have developed a broad spectrum of postsecondary career programs based on open admissions, early specialization, combining general and specialized education, flexible instruction, and career counseling. Most important in the emerging community college concept of Career Education is the career lattice that makes it possible for students to stop their formal education at any point and still have acquired a marketable skill.

Perhaps, suggests Dr. Grede, the community college can help in the national transition from traditional education to Career Education. It may be the catalyst to stimulate and tie together career program efforts at all educational levels.

The Role of Community Colleges in Career Education

John F. Grede

Sidney P. Marland, Jr. has made it abundantly clear that elementary and secondary education should be reoriented along career lines.

The role of postsecondary education–particularly the community college–is less clear, both in terms of how it should be reoriented and what role it may play in the reorientation of all education. It may well be that the key to reorienting elementary and secondary education–or for that matter all education–lies with the postsecondary schools and particularly the community college.

Community college people, especially those who see their primary role in Career Education, will raise some questions concerning a statement that Dr. Marland made on January 23, 1971. "All education is Career Education, or should be. And all our efforts as educators must be bent on preparing students either to become properly, usefully employed immediately upon graduation from high school or to go on to further formal education."

If all education is Career Education, why must the high school graduate either be prepared for immediate employment *or* further formal education? Why not for both, particularly if further formal education beyond the high school is Career Education, as all education is, or should be?

Career Preparation Beyond the High School

At least three factors make career preparation beyond the high school level increasingly important. First, many of the "new careers" feature technicians, the paraprofessional or middle-manpower positions in industry, business, health, and government that require training and education beyond the conventional high school level. The national need for technical skills arising from expanding technology is growing at least twice as fast as the need for professional skills. And the programs to prepare these technicians, as well as the professionals, are found largely at postsecondary or higher education levels.

Second, the high school level of job preparation historically has been closely associated with the term vocational and runs the risk of retaining its low status if left without an effective bridge to higher education. Status may be enhanced by internal improvements in career-oriented education at the high school level. Status may be enhanced even more if such education is not conceived of as an end in itself nor as an alternative to further formal education, but rather as one possible breakout point in a planned system of Career Education that encourages the student to follow to the fullest a career line compatible with his interests, abilities, and placement probabilities.

Third, the higher education component of a system of Career Education is important–perhaps crucial–if for no other reason than that much motivation in the American educational hierarchy derives from the upward social and economic mobility associated with going to college. Although the prestige of higher education is somewhat diminished by the current inability to deliver adequately on the implied promise of jobs, its influence nevertheless so thoroughly permeates the lower levels of education that it cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the public and student concept of the primary mission of the university is that it provides an entree to well-paid and prestigious jobs. Students go to college to further careers. It may take a public confession to bring home the fact that providing "union cards" to better jobs is really what higher education is all about, particularly with the move toward mass public higher education. Finally, higher education is in Career Education, like it or not, since it now includes over 1,000 community colleges with some 750,000 students enrolled in hundreds of different career programs. This can't be brushed aside.

The real issue of the role of higher education in Career Education is not whether it is included–that seems predetermined–but what kind of model will prevail to influence the patterns of Career Education in the entire educational system.

At the risk of oversimplifying, there appear to be two models or systems of Career Education in the American structure. The first might be called *traditional career preparation* as viewed by colleges and universities. The second is the emerging *community college conception*. Traditional career preparation was and still is shaped by higher education and in particular by the professional schools–medicine, law, engineering, social service, library science, accounting, public administration–those with recognized professional standing or those aspiring to such status.

Community College Career Program Structure

The emerging community college career program structure is moving in different directions and operating on different assumptions than traditional professionally oriented career programs do. The community, for example, is much smaller than the statewide, or more often nationwide, community to which the senior institutions respond for recruiting and placement. In this sense, the community college approach is a saturation technique aimed at the entire community of young and old, disadvantaged and mainstream, minorities and "majorities," rather than a selective group of educationally talented youth.

The open-door admissions policy of the community college even expands to a "reach out" policy for uninformed and nontraditional learners who do not find the door and walk in of their own accord. Students generally are admitted to the college with the assumption that a program is available for all types. In theory the student is primary, the program is secondary; it is the function of the institution to provide the program to fit the student rather than to select out and admit only those students who meet the prerequisites of particular programs.

As a result of the concern for students of all kinds, the number of career programs is large. Typical community colleges offer programs in 25 or 30 specialties with a good spread in such clusters as engineering and industrial, business and secretarial, health, personal and social services, and agriculture. In contrast to the big 4-year package "take-it-or-leave-it" approach of the senior institutions, career programs in community colleges are moving toward a modular conception in which job skills and related knowledge may be broken up into small sequences that can be recognized by a certificate and that the student may pyramid one on top of another until he acquires a full 2-year associate degree. At each step he has a floor under him, so that if he cannot or chooses not to go on to the next higher level, he will have a marketable skill and will not have to go back to ground zero.

Early specialization. In contrast to the traditional insistence on broad theoretical and often unfocused exposure to the liberal arts and sciences as a prerequisite to specialized job preparation courses, community college career programs are predicated on early specialization. Career courses, sometimes called "meat courses," which have a direct and obvious connection with a chosen field need to be offered early to attract and hold students. This is particularly true of the community college student, because he characteristically puts one foot in the job market and keeps the other in the educational institution. The associate degree program in nursing, for example, places the young nursing student in white uniform in a hospital situation in the first semester.

From another perspective, early specialization is virtually indigenous to community colleges because of their strong involvement with out-of-school adults who seek upgrading or updating in present jobs or preparation for new jobs. These students come equipped with the maturity and experience to enable the institution to forego much preparatory work and many prerequisites.

Early specialization creates problems for the traditional pyramid of education that assumes a movement from general preparation to specifics. This concern undoubtedly had much more relevance in an era of relatively slow technological change than it does today when it probably is more reasonable to give specific job training the higher priority. Adaptation to changing technology and changing job requirements can be handled adequately by bringing the individual back occasionally for specific upgrading and updating rather than trying to provide him in advance with the broad, general experience that hopefully makes him adaptable to changing conditions.

Blend of general and special education. The emphasis on early specialization calls for a change in the sequence of special and general education, but it does not imply any lessening of the role of general education. Fundamental to the community college is the concept that specialized education for job competency and general education for personal and social competency never are as effective alone as they are coupled together.

There are several practical reasons for blending general education with job preparation. It is still true that more jobs are lost through inability to relate effectively to other people than through lack of technical competence. It is also true that the worker who is unwilling to learn to read, write, and speak English effectively cannot realistically come up with an alternative mode of verbal communication. It is also true that increased productivity, resulting from the same modern technology that creates much of the demand for new career positions, provides the potential for more leisure and more cultural and creative experiences to utilize that leisure. Finally, the community colleges have found the historical significance of general education in the accreditation process to be a strong motivating force requiring them to maintain a balance of general and specialized education.

Career lattice. The perceptions of the role of other institutions in the educational hierarchy is probably different for community colleges than for senior institutions. Community colleges increasingly are moving toward the career lattice concept, a concept that assumes a freedom of movement of students from one level of institution to another with full credit given for the formal education received at the lower level. The career lattice concept also assumes a cooperative relationship in program development among the senior institutions, the community colleges, the high schools, and even the military and the proprietary institutions with which an increasing number of contractual relationships are being effected. This concept assumes the kind of progression wherein a high school student, for example, may have been exposed to the health occupations in elementary school and then during his high school career may have taken a short program to become a certified laboratory assistant. His high school work, with or without the supplement of additional work experience, is accepted by the community college, which adds work largely in laboratory sciences, communications skills, and liberal arts and makes him eligible to take his medical laboratory technician examination at the same time that he receives an associate degree. Advantageous military and proprietary school training may be applied here. Then, with or without any employment in his specialty (which he may elect if he wants some realistic experience plus additional income), he may apply to a senior institution that may add additional components, possibly including management techniques and supervised work experience as well as more refined practices in medical laboratory specialties. At the end of this career line he is a full medical technician with a baccalaureate degree. This type of structure assumes that each institution plays a vital and significant role in the total Career Education of the individual. It doesn't assume that any institution has a monopoly, but that all share in providing an effective, accessible, and flexible career line as part of a career lattice. They all share in the recognition and status since they are integral parts of a process producing qualified job-ready people at several points rather than only at the end of the career line.

Nontraditional education. The evolution of the career lattice concept is closely related to the growing practice of establishing academic equivalents for nontraditional, nonformal education as an alternative route to the rewards offered by higher education. This concept is particularly applicable to career-oriented education and experience, even though evaluating instruments still are largely concentrated in the academic areas. The obvious relevance of converting nontraditional education into formal academic equivalents is that it permits shorter career lines and realistically recognizes that individual study, travel, proprietary-school work, military training, and job experience may in fact produce greater career competence than strictly formal schooling.

One additional advantage of the nontraditional educational thrust (as well as the career lattice) is the encouragement offered many students from poverty level homes and minority ethnic groups who see a desirable career goal in the distance but cannot afford to invest in the total process because of the consequent delay in gainful employment. Such students may accept a shorter and less prestigious job preparation program if it, along with subsequent work experience, is convertible into the higher levels of a compatible career line at senior institutions.

Determination of equivalencies for nontraditional experiences, however, is a two-way street. It also will require that formal academic course work be objectified if any dependable comparability is to be attained.

Additional characteristics. The community college model of Career Education holds that guidance and counseling are of paramount importance. In contrast to traditional college programs, the broad scope and relative newness of many community college career programs require that much more assistance be given to students in selecting compatible offerings, since these programs are not as well known or advertised as medicine, law, or engineering. The community college student needs not only more guidance, but more support through academic and personal counseling, tutoring, and financial assistance.

The Role of Community Colleges in Career Education

The community college model of Career Education is acquiring a big-city emphasis in serving a realistic cross-section of urban America. This kind of mission requires not just offerings tailored exclusively to senior colleges, but programs ranging from simple job skills and basic literacy all the way through such associate-degree programs as nursing, auto mechanics, midmangement, and law enforcement. Nor are community college programs confined to campuses. Career-oriented community service programs are reaching physically into the ghettos and barrios with ethnically balanced staffs and liberal programs of financial support.

The heterogeneity of community college programs, appealing to a wide range of abilities and interests, requires an extremely flexible approach to learning with varying instructional styles geared to different learning styles. It means providing, in addition to the traditional lecture and laboratory approaches of senior institutions, such individualized instructional methods as autotutorial, computer-assisted instruction, small seminars, and discussion groups. This individualization of instruction places a heavy demand on precise determination of objectives that can be stated in measurable terms for both courses and programs.

Such behavioral objectives not only provide an efficient base for learning but are absolutely fundamental to the articulation process. Until such time as the objectives of a course and the program of which it is a part can be stated in terms more precise than typical catalog descriptions, and thus can be compared with counterparts in other institutions, it will be almost impossible to build a systematic cross-institutional Career Education system. In the building of such a system, the community college may take the lead.

The community college so far has conceived of itself as unique. Now, however, it needs to concern itself with its role in a system of career-oriented education, not only as an integral part of the system, but as a change agent to bring about that system. The extent to which the community college model will prevail and influence Career Education and the extent to which it will help bring about a coordinated and cooperative system of Career Education depends on several factors.

Advantages of the Community College Model

Perhaps the most important factor in determining the influence of the community college on Career Education is the extent to which the community college makes good on its promise. It is an ideal vehicle and model for Career Education in the current mode, since it embraces education for job competence, along with social and personal competence. It represents democracy in higher education in that it gives a full range of career choices for young people, working people, and particularly minority groups. Its programs are aimed at the manpower areas of greatest promise for present and future employment. Its immediate target is roughly three-quarters of the employment spectrum, including the semi-skilled, skilled, technical, and middle-management areas while traditional baccalaureate programs aim at one-quarter. It is a relatively new and flexible institution with a changing mission. Its recent big-city thrust brings it closer to the problems of urban living, many of which are closely associated with job skills and literacy. Finally, its intermediate position between the high school and senior institutions makes it the logical linking pin in the planning and development of a network of career programs.

Concerns About the Community College

There are concerns, however. On a broad national basis the proportion of community college students in career programs is only 30 percent. The programs are still weighted toward the older business and industrial clusters, although they are moving toward the more marketable health and public service occupations. Two-year degrees still are the norm, although there is increasing interest in shorter, more flexible certificate programs that really provide basic elements in a career lattice structure. Output and placement in relation to student input in career programs is still unimpressive. Many colleges still need to go back to fundamentals such as the careful selection of career programs geared not only to student interests and abilities but to local and national manpower needs.

Some colleges need to establish closer working relationships with business, industry, and public employers for advisory services, work experience, and even instructional assistance. All need to provide effective job placement and followup and to gather institutional data on output and cost so that these data can be fed back into the process to improve effectiveness.

Older junior colleges face internal resistance as they move from an emphasis on individual courses geared to senior institutions toward self-contained, sequenced programs deeply influenced by non-academicians. Career programs need to be developed for real job requirements rather than be warmed-over versions of traditional courses and curriculums developed for senior college requirements. The very organization of teaching needs to relate more closely to programs, so that an educational unit is not just faculty grouped in a similar discipline but a composite of faculty, students, and program fused together toward completion and placement.

Career Education requires adequate administrative support. It requires a student personnel service sympathetic to, and well informed about, career programs, with a willingness to accept a major role in matching students and programs, monitoring their progress, and when necessary, effecting changes. It requires an accurate determination of costs so that a sensible groundwork is provided for program initiation, continuance, modification, or elimination.

To date great progress has been made in community college career programs, commonly without much cooperative effort with either senior institutions or high schools. For that cooperative effort to develop, for the community college to assume a wider role as a potential keystone in the arch of comprehensive Career Education, the community college must make good on its own model. Further, the implications of that model must be known and accepted by a wide audience.

Implications for Other Institutions

The first implication is that of alternative routes to the highest career level. The traditional route has been the straight-line school route to the top, with the high school and junior college each playing a predetermined and accredited role preparatory to the professional schools.

The second route includes a longer but probably more secure and more realistic preparation through a blend of school and related work, with credit given for nontraditional experience and with modular structure for certain marketable breakout points.

For example, the elementary school might provide orientation to the general health fields. The young person then might choose to prepare to be a nurse aide while obtaining a high school diploma, then choose to work in this specialty while earning an associate degree program in nursing at the nearby community college. On passing the registry exam, he or she might accept a position in a hospital or nursing home and begin a baccalaureate program for nurses that provides full acceptance of the associate-degree training and work experience in a telescoped and more specialized baccalaureate program. The combination of training and experience might permit functioning as a physician's assistant. The ultimate career goal might be to become a medical doctor.

This second, or alternative, route provides distinct advantages. The individual who can't afford to study for 6 to 8 years consecutively to go through the straight-line progression of the professional school has an alternative of gainful employment that also provides practical training experience toward an ultimate career goal. Then too, the loss of skilled manpower to society and the psychological shock to individuals who cannot make it all the way is minimized in that an individual may halt his own career line voluntarily and with dignity at the appropriate breakout points.

A second implication of the community college career model is that specialization and generalization may occur in different sequences and may even occur simultaneously. Specialization or generalization is not the monopoly of any educational level. The primary objective is to develop job skills simultaneously with general education so that an individual has a marketable "cluster" wherever he is on the career line.

A third implication of the community college model is that of cooperative articulation. For many years the junior colleges have made overtures to the senior institutions to get more flexible admissions policies. In the last 2 years the City Colleges of Chicago and community colleges in Illinois have been approached by the senior institutions—particularly by the two new upper-division institutions—with the objective in mind of jointly planning developing senior institutional career-oriented capstone programs on top of community college career programs. This kind of effort virtually means joint acceptance of students with full credit awarded for community college courses in the jointly planned program.

In such a truly cooperative endeavor, courses and programs at all levels are virtually subject to public scrutiny. This is a far cry from the selective process accompanying control of programs by single institutions or by particular faculty members of a single institution.

The obvious objective of an effective Career Education system embracing the three implications cited earlier is a total career lattice with the elements in the system identified and with possible pathways marked clearly. The major elements of a career lattice in Illinois, for example, exist in three major strata: the professional schools in the senior institutions; the technical or occupational programs in the community colleges; and the range of vocational programs offered in general high schools, vocational high schools, and secondary-area vocational institutions. The current structure suffers in that the lattice is incomplete. No counterparts for some of the occupational programs that have been developing in the community colleges exist in senior institutions and vice versa. Only recently, for example, have 4-year institutions developed data processing programs. Law enforcement and environmental science specialties at the community college still find few 4-year programs matched to them. Conversely, the field of medicine has not developed a program at the community college level leading to the M.D. degree. Perhaps the physician's assistant program will remedy this. The law graduate has no counterpart in the 2-year programs, although the legal assistant or the legal aide program researched by the American Bar Association has been introduced in a few community colleges.

Perhaps more important than the development of counterparts is the need for the general public and the student to recognize the interrelationships that now exist or that might be effected among programs at various educational levels. Preferably, this identification of interrelationships should include the not-for-profit and proprietary institutions.

This lack of identification indicates that organization and coordination across institutional lines is overdue. The obvious need is to reduce fragmentation resulting from lack of coordination and to eliminate gaps as well as unnecessary duplication. The critical issue is how to do it.

It may well be that legislators are more cognizant of the fragmentation that characterizes the Career Education structure than are educators and are more willing to do something about it.

The public and legislative concern and frustration at the fragmentation of the American educational system, insofar as Career Education is concerned, is expressed in the Higher Education Amendments of 1972. Title X of the Amendments speaks most specifically to the issue. Prophetically, it brackets the community college, occupational education, and adult education into one omnibus section. It provides for new structures—a new bureau to be exact that will recognize occupational education *per se*. The fact that occupational or Career Education is an integral part of the Amendments that tie together previous legislation for higher education seems to place much emphasis on the role of higher education, and particularly the community college, in occupational education. The provision for a State Commission with a Community College Advisory Group mandated to work with it seems to bespeak congressional intent for broad-based planning that will provide a rational and well-articulated structure for Career Education involving all levels.

Summary

In summary, then, the community college needs to make good on its own promises and to improve its own substance and posture in relation to Career Education. At the same time, it needs to export its concepts of educational programs for all people, of universal access to Career Education at all levels, and of a promise of success at one or more of these levels. Such education needs to be concerned not only with individual differences in ability, interest, financial resources, and ethnic origin, but with manpower needs for a technologically oriented society.

To date the community college has looked inward. It now needs to look toward the other institutions with which a cooperative system of career programs can be developed and implemented. Such a system hopefully could use community college concepts as a base from which to modify and strengthen its structure. Central to such an effort is the career lattice concept from which derives the need for alternate routes to a career goal, for a measurably effective combination and sequence of job skills and general education, and for a continuing cooperative approach to articulation.

The catalyst for a more comprehensive, coordinated, flexible, economic, prestigious, productive, and publicized system of Career Education may be the community college. In keeping with its past history, the community college will take this role in stride.

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In this essay Dr. Mangum reminds the reader that Career Education should be available to the adult as well as the child. His examination of existing manpower training programs highlights their potentially positive impact on Career Education. However, Dr. Mangum warns against adopting those manpower approaches that have failed because they were based on false premises about trainees, existing political situations, and fluctuations in the employment market.

The author emphasizes the need for employers to cooperate with manpower programs by providing on-the-job training. He sees an important role for manpower training in any systematic Career Education plan.

Manpower Programs as Career Education

Garth L. Mangum

Career Education, according to some of my favorite authors, should extend from womb-to-tomb and represent "the total effort of public education and the community aimed at helping all individuals to become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society, to integrate these values into their personal value systems, and to implement these values into their lives in such a way that work becomes possible, meaningful, and satisfying to each individual."[1]

These authors object to the notion that education is for children and youth and that a time arrives when a person "finishes" his education. The current system probably continues formal classroom education beyond the point of diminishing returns. But that point should not mean an end to learning and to education in a broader sense. In fact, considering the sterility of the usual classroom as a learning environment, education would likely accelerate with well-structured "real world" learning or with more imaginative curriculum/practicum combinations. Adults, although in a more favorable situation than youth for learning uncircumscribed by walls, generally are incapable of recognizing and taking advantage of learning opportunities without guidance.

Over the past decade many programs have emerged to aid the individual who arrives at the threshold of the labor market or enters it underprepared to compete successfully for its rewards. These remedial manpower programs primarily have tended to improve the employment and earnings of these people.

Two major limitations, however, have impeded manpower programs over the past decade.

For one thing, program designers have been unable to agree on the basic cause of employment disadvantage. Is it something inherent in the individual who lacks the requisites of employability or is it something in the institutional structure of the labor market that arbitrarily denies opportunity to certain individuals and groups? Obviously, it has been some of both, but determining *how much* of each has been a vital decision in designing remedies.

Secondly, absorption with pathology has led to efforts to construct a separate system for those who failed, whereas it might have been more useful to study successful patterns and design ways to fit the disadvantaged into them.

Manpower Programs as Career Education

If it's true that institutional obstacles account for most of the concentrations of unemployment and poverty among certain groups, education can do little but assure that it is not among these institutional obstacles and prepare the individual to understand and circumvent them. To the extent that personal skills provide solutions, manpower programs can profit from the longer-term perspective provided by Career Education concepts.

Concepts, Components and Stages of Career Education

Career Education is described as having several key concepts:

1. Preparation for successful working careers will be an important objective of all education.
2. Every teacher in every course will emphasize the contribution that subject matter can make to a successful career.
3. "Hands-on" occupationally oriented experiences will be utilized as a method of teaching and motivating the learning of abstract academic content.
4. Preparation for careers will be recognized as the mutual importance of work attitudes, human relations skills, orientation to the nature of the workaday world, exposure to alternative career choices, and the acquisition of actual job skills.
5. Learning will not be reserved for the classroom, but learning environments for Career Education will also be identified in the home, the community, and employing establishments.
6. Beginning in early childhood and continuing through the regular school years, allowing the flexibility for a youth to leave for experience and return to school for further education (including opportunity for upgrading and continued refurbishing for adult workers and including productive use of leisure time and the retirement years), Career Education will seek to extend its time horizons from "womb-to-tomb."
7. Career Education is a basic and pervasive approach to all education, but it in no way conflicts with other legitimate education objectives such as citizenship, culture, family responsibility, and basic education.
8. The schools cannot shed responsibility for the individual just because he has been handed a diploma or has dropped out. While it

> may not perform the actual placement function, the school has the responsibility to stick with the youth until he has his feet firmly on the next step of his career ladder, help him get back on the ladder if his foot slips, and be available to help him onto a new ladder at any point in the future that one proves to be too short or unsteady.[2]

The child progressing through a Career Education system during his formative years would traverse five components:

(a) home, neighborhood, and community, where he develops initial attitudes and concepts;

(b) the school, where all possible learning is elucidated in terms of its career application for both understanding and motivation;

(c) career development experiences, which expose him to occupational alternatives, the notion of a work ethic, and a set of work values, allowing the individual to visualize himself in various work settings in pursuit of one that appears to promise the preferred lifestyle;

(d) a period of exposure to interaction among the training institutions, employing institutions, and labor organizations to provide more fertile learning environments than the school room; and

(e) the ultimate period when vocational job skills, whether learned on the job or in a structured classroom situation, are required.

These components make varying contributions at four stages of development:

(a) awareness (ordinarily beginning in the elementary school) to help children become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society;

(b) exploration (in middle school or junior high) when a youth is encouraged to visualize himself in various work settings and to test the meaning of various work values to himself;

(c) occupational choice (always tentative); and

(d) implementation consisting of occupational preparation, placement, and job success.

Career Education identifies a lengthy set of prerequisites for successful careers and attempts to contribute to their attainment: good mental and physical health; human relations skills; a commitment to honest work as the source of income; and a willingness to accept the discipline of the workplace and to be motivated toward achievement in the work setting. It also requires all of the basic skills of communication and computation and a basic familiarity with the concepts of science and technology, plus a saleable skill in demand in the job market.

To the extent an adult has traversed his preparatory years without attaining these prerequisites, remedial manpower programs should provide them or substitute for them. In pursuing the fulfillment of that assignment, one discovers that many of the concepts underlying Career Education are applicable.

Nature of Manpower Problems

Those groups having the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest incomes can be characterized in two ways–by their personal and by their institutional traits:

Personal Characteristics

- Negro, Spanish American, or American Indian
- Low educational attainment
- Under 22 or over 44 years of age
- Female-headed family
- Isolated rural resident
- Inner-city resident
- Limited work experience marked by high turnover

Institutional Characteristics

- Overt and institutional discrimination
- Ineffective schools
- Crime-ridden neighborhoods
- Inadequate public services
- Limited transportation
- Limited or low-level job opportunities
- Marginal business firms
- Substandard housing

Those concerned with manpower policy have approached the amelioration of these conditions in three ways. Some have attempted to change the people; some have advocated institutional changes; and some have proposed that guaranteed incomes be granted the individuals in question.

Manpower programs that have concentrated on changing the individual have been hampered by the democratic political system, which offers little incentive to undertake programs that do not promise success before the next budget cycle and the next election. Given limited funds and short time horizons, these manpower programs have sought to maximize enrollments and limit per capita costs. They have done so primarily by concentrating on skills thought to require little training or by initiating work experience programs.

The first approach–programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Job Corps–concentrated on high turnover occupations for which the normal hiring channels involved little or no formal training. Since the work experience programs were primarily "make work," they provided little experience relevant to the normal labor market. On the average, those who have been through the programs appear to be better off for the experience. But not much better.

Equal employment opportunity programs–the National Alliance of Businessmen's Job Opportunities in the Business Sector program (NAB-JOBS), and the Public Employment Programs (PEP)–are examples of programs that posited institutional obstacles or lack of job opportunities as the enemy. The first type has made a major impact on overt discrimination but has had a difficult time ferreting out and eliminating institutionalized discrimination. The second never was able to generate substantial employer support. PEP is providing new job opportunities but has not focused on those most in need of them.

Advocates of an "income-rather-than-services" strategy place no great social value on self-sufficiency. They see redistribution of income, separate from issues of earning power, as their favorite panacea. Certainly a radical redistribution of opportunity and income are interrelated. Considering the high incidence of female-headed families among the poor, the "rehabilitation, not relief" philosophy is limited in the short run. Still, there are profound and longrun implications of general acceptance of the view that income can and should be severed from the work ethic.

Patterns of Labor Market Success

To synthesize an appropriate approach from this combination of emphases, it is worth examining how the successful succeed and how the situation of the unsuccessful can be restructured to make possible the same achievement. Perhaps too much emphasis on pathology has obscured the path followed by those achieving economic rewards.

Throughout the antipoverty effort, it has been popular with some to identify values within the poverty culture and then to idealize that lifestyle as preferable. Notably, studies of the aspirations of the poor have consistently found an adherence to the so-called middle-class values and a preference for that lifestyle where available. Secondly, it is often argued–and it certainly is true–that a relatively wealthy society can afford to support a substantial body of noncontributors. But there is substantial evidence to support the value judgment that some form of excellence is essential to dignity and a feeling of self-worth. The individual must view himself and be viewed by his peers as valuable. That value may may not necessarily be measured in labor-market terms, but it must exist. Consequently, what society may be able to afford economically, neither the individual nor society can afford psychologically.

Despite blatant criticisms of American society, it remains factual that:

1. Its production of creature comforts never has been equalled;
2. No nation of substantial size over any significant period of time has managed to disseminate those creature comforts so widely;
3. No significant society exceeds it in offering and achieving upward social and economic mobility;
4. The majority in every racial and ethnic group but one find reasonable employment opportunities and achieve reasonable standards of living, that exception being the Indian, the native American.

While everyone would like to see the whole society rise to a standard of living optimizing the mix of creature comforts, economic security, and environmental quality, and most probably would prefer a more equal income distribution if equalized upward rather than downward, a reasonable set of objectives would be:

1. An economic standard of living rising at a steady but modest pace, say 2 or 3 percent per year;
2. An income distribution in which no family unit had a per capita income less than two-thirds of the average;
3. The pace and patterns of resource utilization channelled to slow improvement, rather than allowing a continuing deterioration of the physical environment; and
4. Every individual given an opportunity to contribute to his own welfare and that of society through service to either the family, the society, or the economy.

Now, what is known about the patterns of labor market experience typical of successful participants? To generalize, they are born into stable family units in which the father and often the mother experience reasonably steady employment. Work and self-sufficiency are important parts of the family's value system. The family also lives in a neighborhood where the majority share the same work values. The individual accepts the discipline of school attendance, learning the basic skills taught there, and graduates from high school. In his exposure to the community at large, he absorbs considerable knowledge about what people do for a living. However, his detailed knowledge is likely to be limited to the occupations of his parents, close relatives, neighbors, and those from whom he receives direct services. He generally has some work experience in part-time and vacation jobs before leaving school.

Most individuals in this group pursue no specialized skill training in high school and receive no postsecondary training. After leaving school, they experience a succession of jobs, most of which are obtained through relatives and friends. A conscious occupational choice rarely is made. Eventually, one of the informally obtained jobs turns out to be permanent and reasonably satisfactory in pay and working conditions.

Most of those who enter college follow a similar pattern, but the primary occupation that emerges is more likely to be a white-collar one.

Career Education and Success Patterns

What can be done for those denied the normal patterns and those exposed to them but still unable to achieve reasonable employment success once they have entered the labor force and found themselves in trouble? For those who do reach the labor-market threshold with the prerequisites for success, how can that success be assured and enhanced? The current Career Education emphasis has two objectives:

1. To strengthen the development process in order to enhance the success of those who would have made it anyway.

2. To make up for the disadvantages of those who would not make it, by having the school supply what the home and community have not.

The "womb-to-tomb" concept of Career Education requires the same dual assignment in behalf of adults. If a weakness of manpower programs has been a tendency to ignore the customary success patterns, how can the programs be redirected?

It is likely that the most effective remediation would be that supplied at the earliest possible date. However, since this would require reform of the entire home, neighborhood, community, school, and labor-market environment, it is remediation that will not be achieved easily.

Nevertheless, the difficulty does not justify neglect. At present, only the miniscule Home Start program attempts to train parents to improve early childhood development at home. Yet mothers who are family heads probably would welcome at-home help.

Because a widespread disillusionment with formal schooling exists, any trend toward enrolling children in school earlier than has been customarily accepted probably will be limited. Yet there is strong evidence that shows the gains to be made from early childhood education. Therefore, the solution may be the spread of school-based parent training.

While money by itself solves few problems, the fact remains that given sufficient resources, primarily invested in properly trained personnel, the schools could identify and exploit learning environments in the community that could be much more stimulating than the classroom. Community service projects are obvious learning experiences around which more abstract learning can be molded. And cooperative work-experience arrangements between school and employer could open the attractive downtown employment world to those with horizons too often restricted.

Those at or beyond the labor-market threshold and in trouble employment-wise are a heterogeneous group. Some generalization is always necessary in policymaking, but it is time to eliminate the generic term "disadvantaged." It was originally coined to encompass people facing serious difficulties in job-market competition. Once the decision was made to concentrate assistance on those needing it most, a measurable test of appropriate allocation required a specific definition. Being poor, plus being under 22 or over 44, having less than a high school education, or being handicapped or a member of a minority, supplies easily identifiable measures. However, these characteristics are not necessarily *causes* of the employment problems; in fact, they often hide those causes.

Undoubtedly, the most serious obstacle confronting people in this group is simply the lack of attractive employment opportunities. There is ample evidence to show that fluctuations in economic prosperity make little difference in isolated rural areas. In cities, employment opportunities grow and contract; but too few inner-city residents seem to have access to the predominantly white-collar jobs that dominate those labor markets. Inner-city residents also have been effectively blocked from many of the public-sector jobs that offer a middle-employment level. The remaining unstructured array of low-level jobs gives no premium to tenure and offers little incentive for stability and productivity.

Career Education for Youthful Job Seekers

For the young just entering the labor market, there is much that remedial manpower programs could do to apply Career Education principles effectively. Those whose family and community backgrounds have been limiting have explored only a limited job world. Broader realities must be opened to them. However, reform of both the training process and the hiring process will be necessary if these new opportunities for exploration are to be made available. Training of longer duration linked with various forms of guided work experience, plus civil service reform, are probably the most vital needs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) has concentrated on skills that can be learned in less than 30 weeks, frequently providing classroom training for occupations in which most learn their skills on the job. The greatest concentration has been on health and clerical jobs, auto mechanics, welding, machine operation, building service, and food services. Only the first two (predominantly for females) are in attractive and growing areas of the economy.

The 104-week training authorization in the law, however, never has been used. In the first place, an attempt has been made to spread available funds over more enrollees. In the second place, there are apt to be fewer dropouts in a short program than there are in a long one, due mainly to the difficulty of sustaining a family on a stipend that amounts to slightly more than unemployment compensation. But this handicap should not be a serious problem with young enrollees. For them, a stipend-carrying training program should have a far better retention rate than ordinary postsecondary education—if the program is otherwise attractive.

Job Corps, the only other skill training source among the manpower programs, also limits itself to skills that, along with remedial basic education, can be learned in 9 months or less.

While suffering from these limitations, however, MDTA and Job Corps have produced training innovations that could well be adopted by any postsecondary institution involved in Career Education: (1) open-entry systems with no prerequisites; (2) training modules and individualized instruction, which allow individuals to be admitted at anytime and proceed at their own pace; (3) ladder approaches and open exit, in which one skill builds on another so that the individual can leave at any time with some saleable skill; (4) cluster training for broad occupational grouping; (5) adult remedial basic education integrated with skill training; and (6) stipends to make full-time training possible for adults.

Even the best of vocational education prepares people only for entry-level jobs. College graduation rarely prepares an individual to become immediately productive. Nearly everyone learns his job on the job. For that reason many employers prefer to rely on on-the-job training. But they base it on selection processes that screen out those with substandard preparation.

Consequently, some of the most successful vocational education programs link classroom training with supervised job experience. Apprenticeship, where it is appropriately supervised to assure a well-rounded experience accompanied by related classroom training, traditionally has been effective.

All of this suggests that for the young a program could be established using MDTA funds to provide remedial education accompanied by classroom skills and integrated with on-the-job experience. Two years' enrollment in that combination should provide students not only with training, but with easy transition into an attractive job.

The training also should supply credentials that allow the individual to build toward an academic degree if he is so inclined. Examples are available now in a few community colleges that have integrated MDTA skill centers into the facilities, administration, and curriculum.

Actually, few jobs requiring less than a baccalaureate degree should be out of reach with such a training combination. An additional advantage of the community college-MDTA route is avoidance of the stigma attached to institutions that limit themselves to the disadvantaged, especially since the latter institutions usually are characterized by substandard facilities.

The Role of Government in Job Training

The Need for Civil Service Reforms

Civil service reform is needed because government jobs are increasing most rapidly in number and pay in the areas containing populations most in need of employment assistance. There is also adequate documentation that many merit-system selection requirements are unrelated to ability to perform the job. New Careers has tried reform with some success, but the effort has been insufficiently concentrated. The Public Service Careers program lacks the needed incentives. The Public Employment Program has missed a great opportunity. That is, lesser governments needed money and personnel, and the Federal Government was supplying both. Consequently, the Federal Government could have required reform and a quota of previously excluded applicants, but the public agencies were left to their own selection decisions.

Congressional Attitudes Towards Welfare Recipients

The congressional push to make welfare recipients work threatens to dwarf all other manpower programs. As a general principle, there is nothing wrong with welfare recipients paying their own way. However, Congress and the general public consistently and perversely refuse to recognize that the welfare population consists mainly of female family-heads and their children. Able-bodied males on welfare are rare. If those realities were recognized, most people probably would agree that it is better to teach the mother of several preschool children motherhood and homemaking as an occupation than to train for a job that will never support the family without subsidy. For those with few preschool children or none at all, welfare mothers, like a high proportion of nonwelfare female family-heads and wives, may prefer to and probably should work.

But once again it must be recognized that any attractive job with hope of full self-support will require some combination of extensive training and aided access. In fact, decently paid female jobs uniformly require more preparation than male jobs. It is almost certain to be more expensive in budgetary terms to employ welfare recipients than to provide them with income maintenance. Deciding who should work requires greater selectivity and support than at present.

Suggested Priorities

Taking care of the youth and female family-heads would leave the pool of those with employment handicaps a heterogeneous group differing little from the average labor force. Among the unemployed would be found persons with health, psychological, and behavioral problems of varying degrees of severity.

For many of these, the need is for more aggressive use of subsidized on-the-job training. There is a clear need to clarify the relative advantages of institutional and on-the-job training and to disseminate guidelines for choosing between them. It also should be generally recognized that though on-the-job training can exist by itself, institutional training for adults (and even for youth) without some direct tie to a definite employment opportunity is a high-risk operation. There must be either an advance commitment to provide the student with a job or a commitment from both schools and placement agencies to expend all needed energies to attain satisfactory placement.

The objectives of manpower policy and programs should be (a) satisfying work lives for all people and (b) efficient allocation of labor resources.

Neither objective is satisfied merely by getting a worker into a job. The notion of career implies a sequence of generally improving work attachments. The individual must have the opportunity to progress within his existing employment, to find new employment if the old disappears, and to move to new opportunities and challenges if the old stultifies or dissatisfies.

Two innovations clearly are needed for the entire work force: (a) a retraining and/or placement program for those displaced or dissatisfied with their current employment and (b) an upgrading program for those whose potential and ambition remains unrealized. If better employment preparation is a right for youth, why is it not equally a right for adults?

Toward a Career-oriented Manpower Program

The appropriate challenge for manpower programs is to provide the prerequisites for successful careers on a remedial basis for those arriving at adulthood without adequate preparation. The participant should emerge from such programs with good mental and physical health and human relations skills; a commitment to work and a willingness to accept discipline; a knowledge of the labor market and the ability to function within it; and basic education skills and job skills.

Though no adequate data exist, physical and mental limitations pose major obstacles to successful working careers for people not impacted enough to be described as handicapped. Work attitudes and reactions to discipline are particularly difficult problems to deal with among adults whose patterns and lifestyles are set.

Manpower programs have accumulated a store of experience, but it never has been analyzed for development of a workable curriculum. That should be done. A major weakness of most manpower programs has been their failure to familiarize enrollees with the realities of the labor market and to teach them job-search skills.

Again, there is much accumulated experience from the experimental and demonstrations projects that have included such components. However, both from apathy and from a desire to keep the course length and costs low, the experience never has been translated into generally accepted curriculums.

Basic education components are common among manpower programs, but they vary greatly in quality and are generally of minimal duration. Experience is sufficient for the development of a sound curriculum.

Skill training in MDTA and Job Corps is generally as good as any available. However, as noted, the skills taught to men are those normally learned on the job, while the growing occupations generally requiring institutional training are considered too costly.

The facilities in which manpower skill training occurs also are substandard in comparison to most postsecondary vocational-technical education facilities, implying second-class status to enrollee and potential employer.

Manpower Programs as Career Education

All of these deficiencies are remediable but at a cost in curriculum development, facilities, and training duration. All of that only prepares the individual for employment and then only partially. The fact remains that regardless of past preparation, jobs are learned only on the job. Employers must have sufficient anticipation of potential productivity to accept a "breaking-in" period. Up to now, manpower programs generally have attempted to bring disadvantaged enrollees only to the entry point others were assumed to have reached without training. Better preparation could bring the enrollees to a higher level of attractiveness, but substantial success will depend on a linkage between classroom and workplace. Early attempts to couple institutional and on-the-job training in MDTA were largely failures because they attempted only to transfer enrollees from one type of training to the other, not really to integrate the two skill-development sources. The subsidized employment approach of the NAB-JOBS program also has been of limited success because it could function only for those people or those jobs not requiring formal training. Applying Career Education concepts to manpower programs would emphasize the involvement of the employing institution in an integrated training process.

Finally, manpower programs have expected a brief one-time exposure, not only to alleviate past deficiencies, but to establish a permanent base for a successful working career in the future. But "career" is a developing concept. There must be ways of recording and adding learning on and off the job into a continuing upgrading process. There is much nonsense within higher education, but there are real advantages to being able to accumulate and transfer credit, ultimately turning it into a degree that becomes a new base for earning a higher credential. Manpower programs and work experience both should be elements in such a continuing career-long process.

Summary

Basically, the same principles underlying Career Education for youth are applicable to adults, including those who are the targets of manpower programs. These programs have suffered from failure to include such components.

It is too late for the home-family-community components to affect the attitudes and human relations skills of the adult recipients. It is not too late to do something for the next generation.

Programs like Head Start have been a disappointment, both because they didn't start early enough and because they did not provide follow-through. Some advocate starting school attendance even earlier, while others fear submitting tender psyches to premature bureaucratization. An answer may be training parents to do a better job of home-based early childhood education.

The integration of academic and career learning already is occurring in manpower programs with the integration of basic education and skill training. There probably is a need for a greater input of theoretical background and a broader understanding of the social, economic, and political contexts within which the individual will spend his working life. Emphasizing preparation for higher-level jobs will increase the need for an academic-skills integration.

Many adults, especially younger ones, have limited exposure to the labor market and its opportunities. As they are now administered, manpower programs present the alternatives of staying unemployed, pursuing available jobs no better than previous ones held, or obtaining one of the limited slots in a manpower program and accepting whatever it offers. Little is done to expose the individual to the range of opportunities available in the labor market because the programs would be unable to provide preparation for them. Occasionally, a particular project offers training and experience in the techniques of successful job search—but not often enough.

In sum, if manpower programs had as their primary objective success throughout the remains of a working career, rather than just an immediate job, they would be conducted differently and cost more. But they also might celebrate a more favorable cost-effectiveness record.

Footnotes

1. Kenneth Hoyt et al., *Career Education: What It Is and How To Do It* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1972), p. 1.
2. Ibid, pp. 5-6.

William J. Micheels is Distinguished Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Stout in Menomonie, Wisc., and was President of that institution when it was known as Stout State University.

Dr. Micheels examines the history of universities to show their historic commitment to education for careers. He urges, at the same time, that higher education not remain aloof from the current Career Education movement. In this context he mentions cooperative planning efforts at the national and statewide levels between colleges on the one hand and vocational-technical schools, community colleges, and private proprietary schools on the other.

Dr. Micheels also discusses such matters as open admissions and new attitudes towards early specialization to illustrate ways in which 4-year colleges are meeting the Career Education challenge.

Career Education at the Postsecondary Level: A Mission for the Four-Year Colleges

William J. Micheels

Education for a career has always been one of the missions of colleges. The earliest universities–Bologna, Paris, Pisa and Padua–were career oriented. A medieval visitor would have found students preparing for careers in theology, law, medicine, or a closely related pursuit. *The Encyclopedia of Education* states: "the first recorded degree was a doctor of civil law conferred by the University of Bologna (Italy) in the middle of the twelfth century."[1] In the context of today's educational environment it is interesting to note from another source, that "the ruling idea of medieval university organization was that of a trade or craft guild, with its system of apprenticeship developing through journeymanship into mastery. . . ."[2]

In our country the early institutions of higher education transplanted a European pattern of courses with a similar emphasis on career preparation for a small percentage of the population. As Ernest Earnest points out:

> Through an irony in semantics the traditional curriculum has often been described as a liberal education. Yet its original purpose was vocational. As stated by its founders, Harvard (1636) was first of all intended to provide the colony with educated ministers of the gospel. As late as 1753 the General Assembly of Connecticut resolved in reference to Yale: "That one principal end proposed in erecting the college was to supply the churches in this colony with a learned, pious and orthodox ministry."[3]

Nineteenth-century industrialism caused reverberations throughout American social life, not excluding the colleges. The Civil War, like our later involvements in war, not only wrenched, but helped to remold our educational system. The Morrill Act (1862) is usually cited as a landmark in instituting educational change, although the resulting transformation was gradual rather than automatic. This law, "which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts," was responsible for extending educational opportunities to many more people and pushing higher education into a mainstream of American life.

Other interesting educational efforts to make Career Education available to the ordinary individual include Samuel Reed's normal school at Concord, Vermont (1823), Stephen Van Rensselear's Polytechnic School at Troy, New York (1824), the Agricultural College of the State of Michigan (1855), Gilman's Johns Hopkins University (1876), and Joliet Junior College (1902). Along the way different institutions borrowed or absorbed educational ideas from various sources such as extension programs, graduate schools, technical institutions, research bureaus, experiment stations, independent professional schools, correspondence schools, boarding houses, performing arts programs, museums, and encounter groups. As educational changes during the 19th century occurred at an accelerating rate, new forms of career preparation were a part of the emerging scene.

Career Education Today

As we try to define Career Education and determine what it should be, we ought to remind ourselves that the world today makes new, nontraditional demands on us all. Since World War II our society has experienced a series of profound revolutions that have affected all mankind—the revolution in weapons, the explosion of knowledge, the revolt of colonial people, creeping urbanization, the geometric acceleration of technocratization, and, in some places, sudden affluence. An epoch that started 10,000 years ago is ending.

As J.H. Plumb observes, "We are involved in a revolution of society that is as complete and as profound as the one that changed man from hunter and food gatherer to settled farmer and craftsman."[4]

What does this have to do with Career Education and a mission for 4-year colleges? It means that whether we are talking about education generally or Career Education specifically, it should be in the context of an entirely new "ball game." It means also that any attempt to portray Career Education as a distinctive or separate segment of the total educational picture would at best be short-sighted, difficult, and dangerous.

The Liberal Education/Vocational Education Controversy

One of the first considerations in determining the meaning of Career Education concerns resolving an issue (or dilemma) that faces all education—the fitful competition between so-called "liberal education" and so-called "vocational education."

John Dewey spoke and wrote on this topic a number of times, several generations ago: "The theory that certain subjects are liberal because of something forever fixed in their own nature was formulated prior to the rise of the scientific method. It was consonant with the philosophical theory which was once held about every form of knowledge."[5]

As we review this thought in today's setting, it is well to keep in mind that before the rise of science and technology, craftsmen and artisans who were engaged in various types of industrial production occupied a servile social station in life. Because there was little need for understanding the basic principles being applied, they learned their trades through some type of apprenticeship in which rote imitation of a master craftsman was the major learning activity.

In contrast, only free men received a "book" education that consisted almost entirely of a study of literature and linguistics (or the quadrivium: arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy). These men were to govern. They were guardians of the moral and spiritual values of the society, and thus they had to know well what had happened in the past. They had time to study and contemplate.

These two types of education were entirely consistent with the needs of the times. Later, the rise of science radically changed the nature and methods of knowledge and learning. Scientific thought and the industrial revolution laid the groundwork for destroying the dichotomy between head and hand. Almost concurrently, the political revolutions giving rise to democracy provided a socially free status to many of those who had been serfs.

These developments "destroyed the very foundation of the traditional separation between the arts suitable for a 'gentleman' and the arts suited to those engaged in production of useful services and commodities: that is to say, the separation between 'liberal' and 'useful' arts."[6]

Joseph P. Cosand, Deputy U.S. Commissioner for Higher Education, was aware of this situation when he began a recent article on the subject by repeating a question put to him by a former colleague: "This 'career education' thing is really another gimmick, isn't it? Another name for vocational education to pump up the supply of auto mechanics? I don't see how it affects higher education – except to promote more anti-intellectualism."[7]

Dr. Cosand proceeds with a refutation of his colleague's contentions by citing numerous facts and describing the programs being encouraged by the U.S. Office of Education, but along the way he warns again about the tendency of conventional "wisdom" to drive occupational and intellectual development into opposite corners "when in reality the two goals are related." This issue ought to be brought out into the open on every college campus with full-scale participation and debate among faculty members, students, administrators, and interested off-campus people. A wholesome debate of this kind might spark the renewal efforts that are presently being advocated on most college campuses, often in an extremely forceful manner.

The Role of Colleges Reappraised

Financial pressures, enrollment problems, employment outlook, and changing student demands are some of the forces that have combined to make most colleges take a hard look at where they are, where they have come from, and what they want to aim for. A few quick facts help to buttress the desirability and need for each college to reexamine its mission(s).

A Department of Labor study indicates that by 1980 about 80 percent of available jobs will require less than a bachelor's degree, but at the same time very few jobs will be available to the unskilled. This same study estimates that over 40 million of the 46 million students now in school will not graduate from college.[8]

Many college placement officers can attest to the fact that a college degree provides no assurance of a job today, and in certain areas job prospects will remain dim for years to come. Even the Ph.D. is no longer an automatic meal ticket, especially in teaching and engineering, two of the professions hardest hit by the changing job market. As professional journals and the popular press began to publicize existing conditions, many questions began to be raised, and colleges that had "ears to hear" started to take responsive steps.[9]

Dr. Cosand, in his article, was aware of this situation, as well as the groundswell toward Career Education when he suggested:

> Four year institutions should be thinking now of how to posture themselves in a few years to accommodate a different kind of student. As the top of the pyramid in career education, they should be making themselves more alert to the changing realities of the job market, so that we don't wind up with an oversupply of teachers and undersupply of doctors and health technicians . . . . The matter of credit transferability is a particular sore point. One of the most disadvantaged youths today is the student who tries to transfer from a two-year college to a four-year university. He is often penalized rather than rewarded by the four-year institutions, which give little or no credit for work and/or military experience and downgrade many of the curricula and courses of the two-year colleges.[10]

As we shall note later, few 4-year colleges have faced up to the realities of these conditions. However, a suggested action step that *all* colleges ought to consider is the establishment on each campus of a standing committee, task force, commission, or similar organized body responsible for gathering information, studying, evaluating, recommending action steps, and in other postiive ways serving as the focal point and catalyst for doing something about the Career Education movement as it applies to the mission of the individual college. Such a committee should be interdisciplinary in design, since the mission is a concern of all.

On most campuses there will be one or more faculty members who have been interested in and kept abreast of the Career Education movement. Undoubtedly there also will be those who are immediately opposed to any movement that mentions the word "career."

The challenge will be to channel all elements of thought into a constructive program of action resulting in a mission review and constructive changes that come from within before they are forced on the institution from the outside. (One example of external forces, out of many, is the recent North Carolina law requiring every state-supported college offering a 4-year degree in nursing to admit with full credit student nurses who have graduated from a diploma school of nursing.)

Instituting reforms will be no easy task, as evidenced by the literature that describes the difficulties of academic reform;[11] but this is a time of crisis on many campuses, and changes are easier to come by and be countenanced when one's employment may be at stake.

Frank Newman, writing in a similar vein, states:

> I would also hope that we might develop a tradition of a permanent state of debate within higher education. Such a tradition, including that of challenge to long-cherished notions, should become a normal part of our academic lives, and should not be something which is regarded as threatening or as anti-intellectual . . . . College-going should not only be a recurring experience in our lives, but it should be useful in many ways – as an aid to a career, but not as an assurance of a career; as an intellectual stimulation, but not in avoidance of other types of experience . . . .[12]

Harold L. Hodgkinson, reinforces the point when he states:

> What seems necessary to me is a greater number of institutions pursuing a greater diversity of educational goals in order to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse clientele . . . . Successful innovation, at least in my experience, is caused by an independence on campus, an internal dedication to a mission that is linked to the values of *entrepreneurship*, or hustle, if you prefer the vernacular . . . . It is at the institutional level that educational debate is most needed. No one has accomplished this feat in higher education since the Flexner Report lambasted medical education in the early 1900s.[13]

It should be obvious by now that Career Education is not a specific program or curriculum that ought to be transplanted on every campus. Each institution is unique in some way. Career Education should be conceived as a broad program (or, perhaps better, a broad series of concepts) that seeks to build on this uniqueness and encourages diversity and pluralism toward the end of doing something constructive about the complex needs that exist in today's society.

Career Education at the Postsecondary Level: A Mission for the Four-Year Colleges

In examining the question of implementation, it may be well to begin by listing some of the broad concepts that need to be restudied, refined, and redefined in the context of each college's particular mission. It will be readily apparent that most of these concepts are familiar to the educational scene; nevertheless, they are in need of reformulation and revitalization. Among the ideas being reexamined, or newly defined, are the following:

1. Achieving self-fulfillment for each individual;
2. Reevaluating the work ethic;
3. Providing easy access to and easy exit from college learning experiences;
4. Making learning experiences available for all persons who can profit by them;
5. Servicing the educational needs of persons off-campus as well as on;
6. Meeting the needs of individuals and groups not previously served;
7. Cooperating with all educational agencies in the service area;
8. Providing research and development capabilities where these can help to meet existing needs;
9. Helping people learn how to do something well, including the developing of saleable skills.
10. Providing learning experiences in "futurology" – how to live and learn in the future;
11. Offering career planning and development in keeping with individual needs and social realities;
12. Recognizing the numerous implications of Career Education for teacher education.

This list of concepts excerpted from various sources is not intended to be complete; however, it should help to indicate the broad spectrum of problems and possibilities that deserve the attention of the best minds on each campus, toward the end that new action programs will be uniquely reflected in the mission statement of each institution.

New Directions for Colleges

Some institutions and organizations are doing something about these ideas:

AASCU Committee on Career Education

The American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), an organization of more than 270 institutional presidents (with enrollments of almost 2 million students), has a standing committee on Career Education chaired by Dr. Adron Doran, President of Morehead State University in Kentucky. One concern of this committee is the matter of educational obsolescence. How should we educate people for jobs that do not yet exist? What do we do about people who find—at age 35 or 40—that their skills are obsolete?

Allan W. Ostar, Executive Director of AASCU, amplified these challenges when he stated in a commencement address:

> The prime need for colleges today is flexibility. Flexibility in entrance and exit procedures; flexibility in curriculum . . . . More and more colleges and universities must now build career ladders for their students in place of educational dead-ends. [This will require] a new model in higher education—an open-ended college offering a wide variety of programs to meet the ever-changing educational needs of the region in which it is located and the society which it serves. [14]

Statewide Programs of Career Education

Each State is developing its statewide plan for Career Education. Usually this has been under the aegis of the State department of education, but some colleges, or their faculty members, have assisted in the development and implementation of the plans. While this is not the place to detail the various plans and models, it should be pointed out that colleges have both an opportunity and a responsibility to cooperate closely in the planning and implementation activities within each State. In my own State, the University of Wisconsin—Oshkosh (formerly a unit of the State college system) sponsored a summer workshop in 1970 that included representatives of the State department of public instruction, public schools, and other colleges and that resulted in the formulation of a *K-12 Guide for the Integration of Career Development into Local Curriculum.* [15] Other colleges in the State have since conducted follow-up conferences and workshops, and individual faculty members have served as consultants to local schools that have begun their individual programs of Career Education.

Cooperation With Two-year Institutions

As noted earlier, the matter of transferring credits into 4-year colleges from technical schools and community colleges is a "particular sore point" at this time. Actually the problems, challenges and opportunities are much broader than just the transfer of credits. Varying conditions in the States will require varying relationships, and this will be healthy. But 4-year institutions will be short-sighted if they do not face up to the fact that these 2-year (or less) institutions have been coming into their own and that there is an opportunity to aid in the process and benefit from it. Treating each other as equals, sitting down together, and making cooperative plans for the future can be mutually beneficial.

Fox example, Ferris State College has joined forces with more than 20 of Michigan's 2-year colleges (which offer an associate degree) and is offering a baccalaureate-degree program for police officers. This is but one example of the numerous opportunities that might be exploited.

This is a matter of concern to all institutions. At a recent meeting on budget planning and preparation for six university presidents (Universities of Wisconsin, New York, Illinois, California, Texas and Missouri), President Charles Hitch of California emphasized the growing closeness of university and vocational education. "We've found that we must work together," he said. "We must cooperate to design a system that doesn't dead-end people or penalize them when they move from one institution to another."[16] The challenge is one that confronts each institution, however large and wherever it may be.

Relations With Proprietary Schools

A similar situation exists with respect to the growing popularity of proprietary schools. A recent article in *Time* magazine states that proprietary schools have grown to about 1 million students, a figure that represents about 10 percent of the U.S. population enrolled in higher education. Their business now totals approximately $2 billion each year and their mission is strictly career training. This same article notes that some "crackdown" efforts have been necessary to curb abuses but that several universities have begun accepting transfer students from approved proprietary schools.[17]

The cooperative use of facilities by colleges and proprietary schools also is being tried. For example, in Milwaukee a new academic building ($1¼ million) for Spencerian College of Business is being built adjacent to the campus of Concordia College. Through a cooperative arrangement, Spencerian students can take liberal arts courses at Concordia while Concordia students can fulfill business requirements at Spencerian, thus avoiding duplication of facilities.[18]

Terminal Programs of Less Than Four Years

While it is difficult to generalize completely, the typical public 4-year college has begun as a 1- or 2-year normal school, with a single teacher-preparation mission. Next it has expanded to become a baccalaureate-degree institution. Then it has expanded its offerings to become a State college and, more recently, perhaps a

State university. Along the way some of these institutions retained or introduced short terminal programs that utilize existing facilities while offering students the option of obtaining 1 or 2 years of specialized training and then either leaving school for employment or continuing on to receive the 4-year degree (and in some cases more advanced training). A 1970 AASCU study indicated that 134 State colleges or universities were offering programs of this type.

Illustrative of such programs are the 2-year mining engineering technology course at West Virginia Institute of Technology, the training of waste water treatment operators at Idaho State Universtiy, a variety of programs at Metropolitan State College in Denver, and the interdisciplinary 2-year course in home economics and business administration of Kansas State College at Pittsburg.

Problems can arise if such programs compete directly with the offerings of a nearby technical institute, but, as noted earlier, cooperative planning can help to avoid the duplication of facilities and offerings if the major goal is to meet the needs of the students being served.

The Place of General Education

Some critics are quick to point out, and they are right, that an inherent danger exists in the Career Education movement if all the emphasis is given to the word *career*. Striking a proper balance of learning experiences is a major challenge, especially to 4-year colleges, but it can also be a real opportunity if those professors who have the know-how will put their shoulders to the task. When the professors themselves are liberal, their courses can be a starting point in opening doors that help students to understand and appreciate the broader and more liberal learning experiences that are a part of each speciality. It is easy to make this statement but more difficult to attain the goal, largely because the forces of tradition stand in the way.

The general education movement, which flourished just after World War II, is now in a paradoxical situation.[19] Perhaps it is time for a new Reformation and for leaders who can tack their theses regarding the structure of Career Education on the wall. Many of us once bought the notion that general education ought to be concentrated in the first 2 years of college. Now there are those who are asking what is wrong with allowing specialization to occur during the first 2 years with general education becoming a capstone effort during the third and fourth years. One wonders if a better approach might not be to provide the offerings whenever the student can profit from them. As students themselves have been fond of pointing out, each individual has his own learning style. Therefore, a sequence of courses designed specifically for the individual might result in real benefits for all concerned.

Career Education at the Postsecondary Level: A Mission for the Four-Year Colleges

Open Admissions

New York's huge City University became a focal point of the controversy about open admissions with a proposal for making a college education available to every high school graduate in the city, regardless of the student's previous academic record. Several States (Montana, Kansas, Ohio, Wyoming) have had such policies, but these have usually been on a "sink-or-swim" basis. The program that was launched in New York City in 1970 was termed by one popular magazine "higher education's moonshot." As this is written, some pertinent questions are being raised in New York, but the idea is likely to be with us for some time.

Those who argue for open admissions start with the assertion that the traditional system of college admittance is downright unfair. One proponent states that open admissions can achieve a level of integration in our colleges and universities that can be achieved no place else. Advocates admit to the many problems that will have to be solved, but they say we have no other choice.

Those who are cirtical of this departure state that it embodies a noble ideal but is simply unworkable. They usually assert that the vast amount of remedial work required ought to be offered before students come to college. The issue is joined in a professional journal article that asks, "Open Admissions: Toward Meritocracy or Democracy?"[20] It is likely that similar questions will be asked on more and more campuses.

Career Planning as a College Function

As a result of the changing pattern of placement calls during the past few years, many colleges have inaugurated career counseling and planning services, which are made available to the students shortly after they arrive on campus. In some places this service has been little more than "flag-waving" about low-placement occupations, but there are possibilities inherent in the trend toward helping students plan realistically for careers.

Cooperative Education and Field Experience Programs

Another familiar career-related program that will undoubtedly expand rapidly is that of cooperative education, or field experience. The possibilities and advantages of work experience as an integral part of the college curriculum have been known and utilized for a long time, but more colleges will move in this direction as they strengthen their ties with the industrial and commercial community and send their students out for some form of on-the-job training.

Continuing Education

Taking education to those who need it, where they need it, has long been a part of the service activities of colleges and will become even more important as the Career Education movement develops.

Continuing Education at the University of Wisconsin–Stout is typical of what is happening at many colleges. Each year some 2,000 students are enrolled in credit activities and approximately 8,500 people per year in noncredit activities.

Continuing Education personnel work closely with the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction and the Wisconsin Board of Vocational, Technical and Adult Education in both the identification of educational needs and the implementation of programs designed to meet these needs.

Continuing education programs on campuses throughout the country are involved in the development of noncredit cooperative ventures with professional, civic, business, trade, education, and welfare groups. They frequently play a major role in the identification and solution of community and regional problems in cooperation with government and private agencies.

Conclusion

This quick look in many directions should make it abundantly clear that Career Education is not a neatly wrapped package or panacea that can be transplanted *in toto* to each college campus to create instant miracles. No attempt has been made to sell any model or program, of which there are many. The theme has been the importance of encouraging diversity and pluralism to meet many needs of many people.

The Career Education movement is creating a groundswell of activity at every educational level, perhaps as one reflection of the temper of the times. Higher education cannot remain aloof from these new realities. It is in this sense that each college ought to examine, decide, and define how Career Education can stimulate renewal efforts and become an integral part of an evolving mission on each campus.

Footnotes

1. p. 26.
2. Paul Monroe, ed., *A Cyclopedia of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), 5: 651.
3. *Academic Procession* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953), p. 21.
4. "An Epoch That Started Ten Thousand Years Ago," *Horizon* 14, no. 3 (Summer 1972) : 4.
5. "The Problem of the Liberal Arts College," in *The American Scholar Reader*, eds. Hiram Hayden and Betsy Saunders (Richmond: United Chapters, Phi Beta Kappa, 1960), p. 121.
6. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
7. Joseph P. Cosand, "O.E. on Career Education," *Change* 4, no. 5 (June 1972): 7.
8. Russell Flanders, "Employment Patterns for the Seventies," *Compact* 4, no. 4 (August 1970): 7.
9. For example, see E.K. Faltermayer, "Let's Break the Go-To-College Lockstep," *Fortune* 82 (November 1970): 98-103; see also "As Traditional Job Markets Shift, Colleges Seek New Educational Roles," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1 Nov. Nov. 1971, pp. 98-100, 103, 144; and "As the Surplus of Teachers Grows," *U.S. News and World Report*, 25 October 1971, p. 44.
10. Cosand, p. 61.
11. See J.B. Lon Hefferlin, *Dynamics of Academic Reform* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969).
12. "A Preview of the Second Newman Report," *Change* 4, no. 4 (May 1972): 34.
13. "Reflections on the Newman Commission," *Change* 4, no. 4 (May 1972): 36.
14. Delivered at Kansas State College of Pittsburg, Pittsburg, Kansas, May 15, 1971.
15. (Madison, Wisconsin: Department of Public Instruction, December 1971).
16. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 28 June 1972, p. 7.
17. 100, no. 5 (July 31, 1972): 38.
18. *Milwaukee Journal*, 13 August 1972, Part 7, Page 10.
19. See Lewis B. Mayhew, *Colleges Today and Tomorrow* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969), Chapter 14.
20. Jerome Karabel, *Change* 4, no. 4 (May 1972): 38-43.

Satisfying the Consumers' Needs

3

Larry Allen is a recent Searcy, Arkansas high school graduate and is past National President of the Vocational Industrial Clubs of America, a youth organization for students interested in trade, industrial, health and technical fields.

Mr. Allen's essay represents one student's view of the daily problems that many high school students apparently face. He discusses the emphasis the public schools have put on college entry, the irrelevance of many high school courses to real-life needs, the lack of adequate career counseling in high schools and the tendency to place students in courses they don't wish to take.

Mr. Allen maintains that most young people need and want an education that will help them in their future careers, in their leisure hours, and in their roles as active citizens. He believes Career Education can provide an answer for many of the needs of young people that schools are failing to meet today.

A 1972 High School Graduate Looks at Career Education

Larry Allen

A student attending a modern American high school doesn't spend many days in the classroom before he realizes that something is wrong with the education he is receiving.

First, he discovers that his worth as a human being seems to be measured by his desire (or lack of desire) to go to college. If he is one of the chosen few (approximately one-third of all high school students) who qualify to take college preparatory courses, he is immediately made to understand that somehow he is better than his less "bright" classmates. He learns that a student who takes a business course (typing, bookkeeping, shorthand) is inferior to one who takes a college preparatory course and that someone who is put in remedial courses or chooses auto mechanics, shop, or home economics is regarded as a loser. He sees the boy who loves auto mechanics, but who registers after that class is filled, "advised" to take drama (which he hates) just to keep him out of trouble for one more hour a day. And he sees what happens to these students who are arbitrarily placed in drama or other electives. They react in a natural way–they protest! And their protest results in discipline problems for the teacher who hopes to help his students share his love of drama or art or sewing. The teacher doesn't like to think that his elective course is considered "Mickey Mouse," and he doesn't like to be a jailer for a lot of rebellious kids. But teen-agers resent being moved around like pawns on a chessboard.

The situation I describe exists because American society believes in a myth–the myth that you have to have a college education to succeed. I suspect, however, that this myth rests on a shaky foundation. In the first place, I believe only one-third of all high school students hope to attend college. So when the schools gear their programs to the needs of the college-bound student, they fail to prepare the remaining two-thirds for the post-high school world.

And what about those who do go to college? We see even our college graduates searching for employment. Could the reason be that they often are unprepared for any sort of work at the end of a 4-year liberal arts education? A short conversation with an English, history, or psychology major will reveal that a liberal arts degree is often useless in helping a student get a job after graduation. Couldn't these same students be better prepared to qualify for interesting, well-paid jobs through preparatory skill training? I don't mean specific training for one job, but thorough grounding in skills that might be useful in several jobs. In other words, I think Career Education should be part of the traditional college education.

High Schools Today

However, let's return for a moment to the existing high school situation and look at it as it might be in the future. Today, our high schools concentrate on preparing only one-third of their students for the responsibilities they will meet after graduation. The other two-thirds are shuffled from one irrelevant course to another for 4 years. To put it bluntly, most of them are wasting their time.

How can we change this situation? Maybe our colleges can help by accepting credits for vocational education and business courses as they now accept credits for college preparatory courses. This would create a situation whereby a student could study a subject that really interests him. The college-bound student could take useful and practical vocationally oriented courses without losing credits; the noncollege-bound student would not feel humiliated by choosing these same so-called "snap" courses.

Career Education might solve many problems in our schools. As things stand in secondary schools today, the person with the most frustrating job is the high school counselor. Most of his time seems to be spent in solving problems involved in scheduling. It is his job to see that each student is scheduled for six classes a day and that class loads aren't too big. Unfortunately, he seems to have little time left over for career counseling. He may be able to help the student choose a college to attend and he may take care of sending transcripts of grades, recommendations, and other necessary papers to these colleges. But what does he do for the majority of high school students who don't intend to go to college? In far too many cases the answer is *nothing*.

Many students leave high school without any concept of what they want to do or where they want to go or what the world of work is all about. Even college-bound students rarely have any concrete idea of how their proposed major area of study will lead to employment. In fact, many of them are college seniors before they even begin to consider the need to relate their studies to present or future occupational opportunities.

Career Education implies a career-oriented school system. It implies a system that introduces children to specific career possibilities even at the elementary level. It implies counselors prepared to put specific job information in their students' hands. And it implies a direct exchange of specific information between employers and counselors.

Larry Allen

The difficulties that will arise in putting Career Education into effective operation in our Nation's school systems are undoubtedly numerous. It probably will be many years before a program of instruction can be developed that will insure maximum competence from students trained under a career-oriented approach. And, needless to say, the extent of the problems involved in reorganizing our schools can be appreciated only by the professional educator.

But at the risk of being labeled overly idealistic, I'd like to suggest some possible effects that Career Education might have for the future of this country.

The Future

As I have implied earlier, Career Education would have a beneficial effect on the attitudes of secondary school students. Under the present system, a student rarely is made aware of how his studies relate to real-life needs, particularly career needs. He sees little relevance in his subjects, required *or* elective. As one student put it:

> It is really bad when a student spends 12 years of his life in our present educational system and then leaves it upon graduation to enter the world of work, and the educational system hasn't even prepared the student enough to compile a resumé for himself. All I know or have learned for the past 12 years is how to work problems out of a book and read stories, of no relevance to my needs, out of other books, but never have I been taught how this would help me with an occupation such as bricklaying.

With a few well-publicized exceptions, most young people know that their adult lives will be spent, to a great extent, in a career and that they must be thoroughly and carefully trained to stand up to competition in a highly technological society. Therefore, they *want* their schools to be relevant to their needs. They *welcome* the opportunity to learn all the skills necessary to prepare them to take their places in the adult world.

Some teachers already have found this to be true. For a long time Eliot Wiggington, a teacher at the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia, watched spitwads flying around his ninth and 10th grade classrooms. He finally decided the textbooks he was using were irrelevant to the needs of his students. One day he walked into class and suggested that they throw away their books and start a magazine. The result was *The Foxfire Book*, a unique collection of interviews of mountain people in which the traditions of the area are recorded for the first time. All the interviewing, reporting, and production work on the project was done by students. The book has been sold and acclaimed nationwide. And, most important, the students of Eliot Wiggington have learned how their classwork relates to a real-life enterprise.

A 1972 High School Graduate Looks at Career Education

I[illegible]tudent could be made to see *specifically* how English composition and gram[illegible]ould be useful to him in his job as a public relations officer, or how he c[illegible] mathematics as an electrician, he certainly would not resent having to le[illegible]se subjects. In fact, he'd be too busy "learning a job" to be a discip[illegible]blem.

Career Education's Impact on Society

Career Education might have an even more exciting effect, not only on the attitudes of students, but on those of society. Hopefully, the Career Education approach gradually would erase our Nation's prejudice against blue-collar workers. Our society has an unfortunate tendency to judge its workers by the colors of their collars. But why should this be so? The garbage collectors' strike that crippled New York City was certainly a dramatic reminder that even the most "menial" job is necessary to insure the smooth working of society. Most occupations are essential or they wouldn't exist. Yet students are pressured by parents and schools to go to college and enter a white-collar field because the so-called "professions" are respectable. Indeed, many pressured to attend college have neither the desire nor the ability to handle college work.

Why shouldn't we develop the attitude that it is also respectable to be a plumber or an electrician, or, for that matter, a custodian? These jobs need to be done, and done well, by people who have pride in their work and who are respected by their fellow citizens. Could Career Education help us change our attitudes? I think the answer is *yes*.

So far I have concentrated on the employment aspects of Career Education. But to go one step further, I would like to suggest that when we talk about Career Education we keep in mind the larger interests and responsibilities that should be regarded as an important part of our adult lives.

Young Americans are becoming more and more involved in decisionmaking in the political arena, in the area of environmental control, and in the job of making government more responsive to the needs of the people. It is an exciting development and one that ought to be encouraged by the schools. But encouragement will be a token gesture if it doesn't take a specific, instructive form. Civics courses could be related directly to specific ways in which people can become active politically and to legal ways in which students can cope with government irresponsiveness. General science courses could study pollution and discuss definite types of action that can be taken to fight for pollution control. In the same way, courses in the arts could build an information bridge between the high school and the community to show students ways in which they could become involved in artistic fields that appeal to them.

Larry Allen

Career Education is a concept I find tremendously interesting. The impact it might have on the student of the future can only be guessed at. If the results are modest, students may at least feel that they are making real progress toward the goal of career preparation. If the definition of Career Education is widened, children could be prepared to participate fully in a life of work *and* community activity.

Our democratic society has been plagued by negative elements and tendencies that scar its image at home and abroad. Maybe one of the reasons is that our schools have not only *tolerated*, but have actually *encouraged* inequalities among the students who are supposedly regarded as equal. We all know that citizens in a democratic society are supposed to be guaranteed the opportunity to develop to the limits of their abilities. We all know that in practice our individual strengths vary widely. Yet we have all been crammed "democratically" through 12 years of "equal" schooling. Some time during these 12 years we find that our education has scarcely any relationship to our real-life needs. So we sit in apathy or drop out or rebel or, if necessary, get good grades until the second half of our senior year when we've been accepted by a college and don't care any longer what impression we make in high school.

When we leave school we carry our attitudes with us. We drop out of society, or we live in apathy, or we continue to support a system that fails to meet our needs. And, for some reason, we give lipservice to the notion that only "intellectual" pursuits are worthwhile pursuits.

Incentives for Learning a Living

Making prophecies about the future is a risky business. Nevertheless, I'm tempted to speculate about the possible effects of Career Education. The most encouraging fact about this approach to schooling is that it represents an honest, sincere attempt to give each student an opportunity to do what he really wants to do with his life. Experiments by private companies that train former high school dropouts show that these young men and women can whiz through a shortened high school program, receive high grades, and get their diplomas when their schooling is based on specific job training with a guaranteed job as a goal.

If the same sorts of incentives were built into the 12-year public school course of instruction, the tendency to drop out of school and society might be reduced greatly.

If Americans were instilled from the time they entered public school with the idea that *all* occupations are honorable, how different our Nation might be. Our attitudes toward each other would certainly be better and more democratic than they are now.

In closing, I hope that when the time comes to follow a Career Education plan in public schools we don't limit the concept implied by the term "Career Education." In the future the work careers of Americans will constitute only a portion of our daily lives. Probably we will have many more hours of leisure time than we have today. To lead full, useful lives, on the job and off, we must be prepared to develop ourselves into well-rounded individuals. Citizens of the future must be prepared to use their new rights and powers and leisure hours wisely. To do this, they must be given specific, practical instruction and information by their public schools.

Gus Tyler is Assistant President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, with prime responsibility for ILGWU's Departments of Education, Politics, and Training.

Mr. Tyler's essay explores the historic origin of Career Education as embodied in the early commitment to establish a system of universal free public education that would prepare the children of working class families for participation in both the economy and the government of the land. He then traces the repeated rise and fall of this prime purpose of education down to the present concern with Career Education.

Mr. Tyler sees necessity as being the savior of education. The need to survive in our society is equivalent to the need to work. By addressing itself to the concept of Career Education, the school can prove its worth to society. In order to do so, the school must avoid some myths about the economic imperatives of our society. Mr. Tyler examines these myths and warns that we must not build the notion of Career Education into a new myth that could, in turn, endanger a rounded education.

Career Education and Society's Imperatives

Gus Tyler

Career Education is a current expression for an old concept. In its oldest version, it is the father training the son to follow in the parental footsteps. In early America, it was the master training the apprentice. In a later version, a trade association would set up a program to teach a craft. Thus in 1821, the Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia–a union–asked for legislative permission to appropriate the organization's funds to support a school and establish a library for apprentices.

Unions and Free Public Education

By the late 1820's the unions were demanding a general system of education supported by public funds. To the Workingmen's Parties of the time, universal free public education was the essence of liberty: without schooling a man could not function effectively in either the economic or political life of the Nation. Hence, in the dozens of cities where these Workie Parties sprang into existence after 1828, the cry for public schools became a major political issue.

Although schools were seen as places where workers' children could learn a craft, these early parties consistently refused to limit schooling to what we today would call "vocational education." They wanted their children to be more than skilled artisans; they also wanted them to be informed citizens. The latter was as vital as the former if the Nation was to realize the noble purposes of the Declaration of Independence or the Bill of Rights, both of which had been written within the fresh memory of the men and women who founded the Workingmen's Parties.

Schools Are Common Property

The Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia–the first of the labor parties–stated its educational philosophy vigorously in 1828:

> The original element of a despotism is a monopoly of talent, which consigns the multitude to comparative ignorance, and secures the balance of knowledge on the side of the rich and the rulers. If then the

> existence of a healthy free government be . . . rooted in the will of the American people, it follows as a necessary consequence of a government based on that will that this monopoly should be broken up, and that the means of equal knowledge (the only security for equal liberty) should be rendered, by legal provisions, the common property of all classes . . . . Until the means of equal instruction shall be equally secured to all, liberty is but an unmeaning word, and equality an empty shadow.

For the Workies, the democratization of education was vital.

Two years later (1830) the New York Party repeated the same theme with a slight variation, a kind of egalitarian twist to the classic view of the relation between body and mind:

> Instead of the mind being exclusively cultivated at the expense of the body or the body slavishly overwrought to the injury of the mind, they [the Workies] hope to see a nation of equal fellow citizens, all trained to produce and all permitted to enjoy. As the first and chief of their objectives, therefore, the mechanics and workingmen put forward a system of Equal, Republican, Scientific, Practical Education.

Although that statement appeared in the *New York Workingmen's Advocate* almost 150 years ago, it contains all the seminal ideas for what we now call Career Education. Schools were expected to develop the body as well as the mind and to enable the individual to keep the two in proper balance. Schools were to be practical and scientific in their curriculum, but they were also to prepare citizens for participation in a "republican" society. They were to turn out able producers and tutored consumers who know how "to enjoy." They were to be egalitarian in spirit–to constitute the common ground out of which would arise "a nation of equal fellow citizens."

The Boston Party stated the double purpose of universal schooling succinctly, demanding "a diffusion of knowledge, particularly in the elements of those sciences which pertain to mechanical employment, and to the politics of our common country."

The New England Association of Workingmen called in 1833 for "manual labor schools, free for all, at the expense of the state" that would teach the "true principle of a republican government in addition to elementary education."

The Need for Educating the Middle Class

The movement for universal free public education issued from what we today would call the middle class. The rich had their private schools; the poor had their "public" schools; but the in-betweens–artisans, mechanics, tradesmen, laborers–were left out. Hence, when the first federations of labor formed in the cities, they moved swiftly to set up political parties to redeem the promise of the revolution by demanding education.

They knew that such a tax-supported system would be expensive. But they also knew the costs of ignorance. Thus a committee of the New York party stated its agreement with the "people's friend and firm advocate, the immortal Jefferson, that the tax which will be paid for educating the common people is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, nobles, and priests, who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance."

The philosophy behind these straightforward proposals was revolutionary. Schools were to be the tool of the people to elevate the people. Education was to be diffused to democratize the social order. The curriculum was not to be devised to raise up a class of idle intellectuals who would look down on the hornyhanded sons of toil; the syllabus would show real respect for the manual, mechanical, practical trades and seek to cultivate the minds of the men who did the world's sweaty work. This philosophy was a product of a revolution–the Spirit of '76.

Outcomes of the Movement

In the century and a half since the almost universal establishment of free public education in the United States, the American economy has expanded miraculously and the American democracy has continued to grow as a consequence of the educational revolution of the 1830's. Out of the schools came the men and women equipped to operate a progressively sophisticated economy, and the citizens educated to cast an informed ballot.

Over these many decades, American labor has continued its original interest in a system of education that would prepare people for a life in the workplace and in the community. Over these same years, the specific application of this fundamental idea has changed with changing times–so that the concept may remain realistic and relevant, as it was in the beginning.

The Educational System Is Tested

The turn of the century presented a challenge to the educational system that tested its flexibility: the Nation was undergoing a dual revolution–industrial and demographic. Rural people came to work in the factory. Into the industrialized cities poured "the backwash" from American farms and aliens from other countries. To prepare them for work and for urban life became a major objective of American education. The schools were looked on as the place to train and to assimilate.

In a fascinating essay, written almost 70 years ago titled "Manual Training in the Public Schools," the former Commissioner of Labor Statistics of Connecticut, Harry E. Back, discussed some of the perspectives and problems of education that have startlingly fresh relevance to the present discussion of Career Education. Mr. Back wrote:

> There has been much debate as to whether manual training, with the object of teaching some trade, should be made of prime importance in the study of a school boy arrived at the age of 14 years, or thereabouts, or whether it should be coordinated with other branches of learning in the interest of a comprehensive, well-balanced educational system. . . . As time went on, the people—not the educators—settled the question. It was found that boys from the schools where manual training had only a relative value soon surpassed those who had been fitted only for some particular trade. They stepped into higher positions requiring executive ability and the general knowledge in which they had been drilled. Consequently, the schools with the broad educational ideals met with public favor and multiplied and developed throughout the land.

This view of "manual training" that goes back to the first decade of this century, then, sees the training of the hands as an important, but not an exclusive, concern of education for the world of work. In his essay Back offered a rationale for his concept that goes beyond the simple evidence that those with more general backgrounds rose to higher positions. He reasoned that "the drudgery of abstract learning is turned into the pleasure of learning by the creation of something concrete and original." Hence, the manual involvement becomes a means of motivation to relieve the boredom of the purely abstract.

Back reasoned further that the system reunited the seemingly separate worlds of thinking and doing as the student "learns the relation of the theoretical to the practical affairs of life." Then, in what sounds like a distinctly modern concern, Back pointed out that the broad perspective offers vocational options. "The end of the school life finds the young man's career open at the top." This is true because he has not been forced to learn "some particular trade to the exclusion of all other knowledge." It means that he can make an intelligent choice of his life work. If he ultimately takes a job doing something mechanical, he is not humiliated by having to learn the rudiments; if he goes into an executive post, he can do better if he has a grasp of "mechanics and manufacturing processes."

The systems developed at the century's turn were devised for children raised in the city, especially those whose parents came from other lands. Educators of the time felt that the farm boys could handle themselves in the economy and that their success was due in large measure to the fact that they had been raised from infancy to use their hands as well as their heads. The movement toward "manual training," Back points out, was hastened "by the remarkable success in all walks of life of boys born and bred in the country or rural districts, and by the marked failure of city boys to qualify for the important positions of life. . . . How to overcome the disadvantages of city life and education and how to make industrious and useful citizens of the children of the uneducated foreigners became pressing problems."

Rural Migrants Flood the Schools

A half century later America again faced the problem of assimilating an alien element into the economy and community. But this time the "foreigner" was a native–a migrant out of rural America. These were the 20 million people who, in the short span of 25 years, were driven from the soil to the city by mechanization of agriculture. The countryside no longer needed them and the cities were unprepared for them. They poured into the already dense and often decaying urban areas as homeless wanderers. They were poor, hardly literate, heavily black, untrained for skilled or even semiskilled work, and untutored in the confusingly complex ways of a metropolitan civilization. They carried with them the upset of the uprooted, inevitably accompanied by a clash of cultures exploding into crime or riot.

America called on its schools to solve three interlaced problems: to train these unskilled for jobs; to integrate racial minorities into a nonintegrated society; and to acculturate the newcomers to an urban existence. Thus education was asked to cope with the Nation's three toughest problems: the urban explosion, race, and poverty. The assignment was undoubtedly the most difficult ever given to the Nation's schools.

This mission became increasingly difficult as the sixties and seventies made it apparent that the educational system was trying to adjust to a changing society whose dynamic and direction were unstable and unknown.

The cities were undergoing demographic revolutions. The rural wave out of the South changed the complexion of the northern cities. This rural-push urban-pull set in motion another dynamic: the urban-push suburban-pull. Central cities lost their most stable populations. Increasingly, those left behind in white and nonwhite slums were those who were most despondent, dependent, and desperate. Simultaneously, jobs were relocated to deprive the already deprived of the little hope they had. In the place of the old factory came shiny towering office buildings housing professionals and corporate headquarters and employing better-schooled white-collared people from the outer areas. Along with these shifts in population mix and job location came disturbing physical upheavals in the urban contours. Whole neighborhoods were wiped out by decay, neglect, abandonment, fire, riot, and urban renewal. In many cases the oldest areas of rot were replaced by malls, commercial skyscrapers, or luxury condominiums. Consequently, the rural wanderers who came to the city for a home found themselves homeless again–the vagrant nomads and vandals of urban America. And it was to this unsettled and unsettling urban environment that the schools were expected to acculturate the restless newcomers.

The difficulty has been multiplied by the simultaneous effort to integrate the schools by ending *de facto* as well as *de jure* segregation. Integration would not have been easy even in normal times; but to expect it in the stormy postbellum years added to the burden. As the Nation moved toward the seventies, still another difficulty–possibly the greatest–arose; namely, the retribalization of our cities that in turn is a local manifestation of the retribalization of mankind. For a variety of reasons–out of fear or hope,frustration or fury–people around the world and in small communities have been withdrawing into their ethnic enclaves, demanding "power" or "separatism" or "self-rule" or "community control." Whatever the merit of these movements, their active presence turns out to be an obvious obstacle both to ethnic integration and to comprehensive planning of education over relevant geographic and cultural areas. At a time when we should all be pulling together, these diverse dedications are pulling us apart–making a mockery of the school as the great social unifier.

The urban and racial disorders of our times have been intensified by a generational factor–especially as experienced in the schools. The great postwar baby boom hit the educational system with tidal impact in the sixties. Education lacked both the physical plants and adequately trained teachers to accommodate this flood. But even if the buildings and the staff had been there, many classrooms would still have been turned into blackboard jungles under the invasion of so many adolescents–inbetween people raised in inbetween times, a biologically violent horde of youth coming of age in a socially violent moment in man's history.

Education and Necessity

On this tossing sea of social storms, how could an educational system find a course to a safe harbor? In the past when the mythical gods went mad, waging their private wars against each other, one ultimate figure always brought them to their senses. He was the great Ananke, the God of Necessity, before whom all others bowed down.

In Western civilization, Ananke appears in the form of the compulsion to work. To live, man must sweat, must accept discipline, and must learn to live with those like him and those unlike him. These are all musts, necessities, and hard-rock absolutes on which an educational system might build a structure, no matter how the winds howl.

Unfortunately, however, many in academia who should have provided the intellectual leadership for the schools in postwar America believed that Ananke–like God himself–was dead. He was killed–they said–by automation, computerization, and cybernation.

This notion of a workless world was a myth–a mischievous myth. But since man, the image-making and the image-made animal, is moved not by what *is* but by what he *believes* to be, the myth of the lazy life took hold both with educators and with students. Many educators found it easy to believe in the myth. In the golden age of education following the war–with its gigantic student body and fattened budget–the way to success, whether economic, social, or even political, was the accumulation of academic insignia. As the market became glutted with degrees, the upward bound had to attain and sometimes invent new degrees. It became more important to capture a degree than to master a discipline; it was better to have a Doctor of Philosophy degree than to be a philosopher.

To many students, *work* became the only really dirty four-letter word left in the dictionary. In the forthcoming world of leisure, the only thing worth learning was how to do your own thing. The desired educational system, from K to Ph.D., became one endless pursuit of happiness without grades, tests, standards, curriculum, discipline, teachers, schools, facts, or logic.

Against this background the turn to Career Education is a positive act, a move to restore balance. It recognizes that Ananke is not dead, that life still is real and earnest, that physical sweat is no stigma, that there's work–much hard work–to be done, and that an educational system must recognize this overriding and eternal imperative.

Educational Myths Need Absolving

But if Career Education is to fulfill its promise it must first relate careers to what is happening in our society, especially to what is happening in the economy. Otherwise, it too is likely to invent myths and become the victim of its own mythology.

And so, to demythologize the ambience, it might be well to clear away several widely accepted myths about the economy and education.

1. The automation myth: no workers needed
2. The blue-collar myth: they're disappearing
3. The service economy myth: they're intellectuals
4. The male myth: they're the labor force
5. The school myth: that's where learning takes place
6. The educational myth: degrees will do it
7. The training myth: training makes jobs

8. The specialist myth: stick with it to the end
9. The myth myth: words will do it

The Automation Myth

The automation myth held that the coming of automation would bring a workless world: the labor force would shrink, unemployment would rise, and the percentage of the population in the labor market would decline. The reason was simple: smart, untiring, fast-moving machines would replace dull, weary, slow-motion people.

The results, however, contradict the reasoning. The labor force has grown from 62 million in 1950 to 83 million in 1971. Unemployment has not increased: it has fluctuated from 5.3 percent in 1950 to 5.7 percent in 1971, with lower rates in between. It is the participation rate that has gone up.

Why did the forecast fail? First, because high aggregate demand ate up what the automated economy provided. Second, because the increased output had to be sold and delivered, thereby stimulating the nonproduction sectors of the economy. Third, because the acceptance and growth of the welfare-state idea stimulated public employment. Hence, automation did not shrink the labor force, it merely changed its composition–with a smaller percentage in manufacturing and an ever larger precentage in services. In fact, to judge by pay, the service-sector employee is inferior.

Thus, in 1970 the average hourly wage in manufacturing was $3.36 an hour, in mining $3.84, in construction $5.54, and in transportation and public utilities $3.85. But in wholesaling it was only $3.44, in retailing $2.44, in finance-insurance-real-estate $3.07, in other services $2.84. By and large, then, service pays less and generally requires people with less education.

Parenthetically, the service-economy myth has a bigger myth within it; namely, that there really is a service sector that has common traits beyond the fact that somebody at some time created a convenient classification. Otherwise, there is little in common between the doctor or the Doctor of Philosophy, on one hand, and the bootblack or the domestic, on the other. A realistic orientation by education toward careers in the service sector might do well to start by throwing out the category as a category altogether.

The Male Myth

The male myth holds that the world of work is no world for women. Hence, with some exceptions, vocational (career) education is male oriented. The fact is, women have moved into the labor force so rapidly that within a few years females will represent 50 percent of the employed. At present they compose about 40 percent. In 1950 they were only 30 percent. In 1948 only 18 percent of the mothers held jobs away from home; by 1970 the percent had risen to 43. Of mothers with children between 6 and 17, half work; of those with children under 6, one-third work; with children under 3, one-quarter work. The trend is likely to be accelerated because (a) the service economy provides more opportunities for light neighborhood-based part-time work; (b) because women's lib will open greater opportunities in the professions; and (c) because the pressures of our times drive wives and mothers to work to pay for the mortgage on a home in a better neighborhood and for college tutition for the kids.

The School Myth

The school myth holds that the place where learning takes place is the school. This myth confuses schooling with education. The former is a more or less structured process; the latter is a more or less loose happening that takes place in one's odyssey through life. Because of the myth, there is constant confusion between competence and qualification, the former resting on ability to perform and the latter on academic accreditation. A serious approach to Career Education has to differentiate between the person who holds a degree but lacks education and a person who lacks a degree but still is well educated–even well read.

The Educational Myth

The educational myth is a spin-off of the school myth. It holds that if you have enough degrees you will make enough money. This myth originated in the "golden age" of education following World War II. There was a great demand for teachers to teach the numerous young, to prepare heads for the egg-headed economy, and to outsputnik the sputnik. There was a free flow of money to education from government, from foundations, and from parents who did not want their kids to be left out. There was a rapid expansion of the visual-aural trades: advertising, psychoanalysis, theater, stereo, social work, and communications. As B.A.s multiplied to qualify people for the heady society, it became necessary to get the M.A., and the Ph.D. Theoretically, there was no end to this because knowledge is a commodity that can be comsumed–unlike fudge sundaes–without end. Actually, however, the limit came much sooner than expected, and by 1970 college-bred labor glutted the market. Meanwhile, a real shortage of stone masons existed.

The Training Myth

The training myth holds that if a young man or woman is trained for a job, he or she will get a job. This myth had its origin in the full-employment era that coincided with the height of the Nation's involvement in the Vietnam conflict. The myth assumes that there are enough jobs to go around for all who want to and are able to work and that the specific kind of training meshes with the specific kind of jobs available. Put otherwise, training people for jobs without the necessary social measures to assure that the jobs are there is to use a myth to delude and ultimately to infuriate credulous people.

The Specialist Myth

The specialist myth holds that the way to get a job is to learn to be an expert at something. The old adage ruled that shoemakers should stick to their trade. Many shoemakers did–much to their regret. In the U.S. shoemaking has just about been wiped out by foreign competition. Other skills have been phased out by other forces; e.g., who wears the hoop skirt (which requires specially skilled metal workers), and who wears the whalebone corset? Daily, new processes of manufacturing, communication, construction, merchandizing, and packaging eliminate skills and render craftsmen obsolete. In such a protean economy, a man or woman would do best to learn many skills, develop wide interests, and–above all–learn how to learn. Career Education should be aimed at developing generalists who pursue their specialty as one of their continuing concerns in a broad spectrum of interests and involvements.

The Myth Myth

The myth myth holds that the way to solve problems is by perpetrating or perpetuating a myth. It offers concepts not as a guide to action but as a substitute for action. It is a kind of hocus-pocus that looks for the magical word to turn lead into gold. It is this myth that has been responsible in the past for many fads in education. Whether good or bad, an educational idea that does not get beyond the mere utterance thereof is nothing more than a collapsible cliché subject to easy perversion. Consider, for instance, such words as progressive education, liberal education, vocational education, and open school.

Conclusion

The phrase *Career Education* is not immune to such a fate. Too easily it can become a word used just to make old-fashioned vocational education look more glamorous. Or it can be a word used to deny support for a liberal education. Or it can be a word that every fund seeker will turn and twist to extort contributions from foundations and Government.

Or it can be a way to bring American education back to its senses and to prove to a Nation that has grown skeptical about the value of schooling that education still is a *sine qua non* for an enriched life in a free society. But to do the latter, the planners of Career Education should look first, not at their own economic and social needs, but at the socio-economic imperatives of the society.

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Mr. Davenport believes that public schools and the community must work in partnership to provide studies relevant to the postgraduation needs of young people, particularly black students, who tend to be cheated by an educational system geared almost exclusively to providing academic courses for college-bound youth.

The author contends that Career Education provides a realistic opportunity for sparking enthusiasm in students not presently served by the educational system and for fulfilling the public's expectation that schools exist to prepare young people adequately for employment and their adult responsibilities in the community.

Career Education and the Black Student

Lawrence F. Davenport

The concept of Career Education holds greater promise for black students to attain a good education and preparation for interesting and constructive careers than any of the civil rights acts, Supreme Court decisions, and plans for improving education for blacks that have occurred in recent years. Though these acts and court decisions have given black students "equal opportunity," it must be recognized that the only gain has been "equality" in a white educational system that is just as ill-suited to the needs of white students as it is to the needs of blacks.

The Function of Public School Education Today

Education in America today is in dire need of change at all levels to make it relevant to the needs of students, the community, and the society at large. Our school system is designed primarily to prepare all students for higher education in 4-year academic institutions. The fact is that only about 20 percent of the students in our schools ever attain that 4-year degree. For the most part, the others are dropped by the wayside and are expected to fend for themselves, with little preparation for the world in which they make their way.

Even the small percentage of students who do go on to college enter institutions that are based on 19th-century concepts and values. They are reserved mainly for the middle and upper classes who will enter the professions, Government and higher business ranks. Although greater numbers of students, including blacks, are entering universities and although higher education today is less the preserve of the wealthy than it once was, it still serves only a small percentage of the population and carries an exaggerated aura of prestige and social status, making other types of education seem undesirable.

Today more and more black students are entering colleges and universities—a highly desirable trend. But the percentage is still small. According to the 1970 census figures on the educational attainment of employed males between 25 and 64, only 5.7 percent of blacks (compared with 17.7 percent of whites) had 4 years or more of college preparation. Blacks having 1 year of college education constituted 12.6 percent of the employed group, compared with 30.9 percent for whites.

In this age group 39.6 percent of blacks had high school diplomas, compared with 67 percent for whites. Add to this the younger generation, and the figures for high school diplomas are somewhat better but still far from acceptable.

The proportion of blacks 20 years of age and older who have high school diplomas rose from 24 percent to 39.7 percent between 1960 and 1970, an increase of two-thirds. For the same period the percentage of whites with secondary diplomas rose by one-third from 45.4 to 61.8 percent. In the age group 20 to 29, the percentage for blacks rose from 40 to 62, and for whites from 65 to 82.[1] The number of black students graduating from high school is continually increasing yet only a very small percentage are going on to college.

Essentially our schools, which are geared to accommodate the college-bound, have little to offer the others. In discussing the civil rights acts of the past decade, James Farmer recently wrote:

> We did improve the upward mobility of many Black people in the country, especially those who are in the middle classes. The Black Ph.D. has many people and many institutions vying for his services. . . . But for the masses of the people who are not in the middle classes, nor college graduates, nor high school graduates, certainly not Ph.D.s, the progress has been pitifully small and slow. In some ways, to be utterly realistic, we have been on a treadmill and the masses have slipped back.[2]

Making Our Educational Goals Realistic

We must build an educational system that is truly responsive to the needs of all students, not just a fortunate few. Of course we want and must have more blacks in colleges and universities. We need more black professionals and scholars in every field. That is a legitimate goal. But even in our wildest dreams, we cannot realistically expect that every black should go to college or want to.

If every institution of higher education in the country adopted an open admissions policy tomorrow, the number of blacks who would enter still would be relatively small. We must cast aside the snobbishness—an outmoded carry-over from white society—that says the only desirable goal is an education that ends with a 4-year college degree. This all-or-nothing attitude is both unrealistic and self-defeating.

We must have a system that takes into account the varying abilities and aspirations of students and offers a variety of options. We must stop trying to force every student into the same mold. If we were to encourage young people to develop their special talents, whatever they may be, we might discover reserves of human potential that would amaze us.

Lawrence F. Davenport

Booker T. Washington once commented on a tendency that is still prevalent today. In an address entitled "Democracy and Education," he wrote:

> It seems to me that the temptation in education and missionary effort is to do for people that which was done a thousand years ago, or is being done for people a thousand miles away, without always making a careful study of the needs and conditions of the people whom we are trying to help. The temptation is to run all the people through a certain educational mold, regardless of the condition of the subject or the end to be accomplished.[3]

We must provide education that is challenging and relevant and that offers students a variety of choices. The evolving Career Education concept, if properly formulated and implemented, can meet those criteria. The need is desperate. Of 3.7 million youngsters leaving formal education in 1970-71, nearly 2.5 million lacked skills adequate to enter the labor force at a level commensurate with their academic and intellectual promise. Many left with no marketable skill whatsoever.

The Goals of Career Education

The purpose of Career Education is to assure that when every student leaves school he will be prepared either for higher education or for entry into a modern occupation. Starting in kindergarten and continuing through grade 12 and beyond to postsecondary occupational training or the university, all students will participate in Career Education.

In the early grades career awareness themes will be stressed to acquaint students with the wide range of activities that make up the everyday world outside the classroom. Young people will be taught the three R's and basic elementary courses in terms that are meaningful to them and that relate these subjects to the real world.

As they progress into the middle grades, they will explore occupational clusters and how jobs are interconnected and related to one another and to society.

In the higher grades those who express an interest in a specific occupational area can concentrate on that area, gaining the skills and actual work experience that will qualify them for entry into their chosen occupational fields upon leaving school.

Career Education is not a tracking system that puts the "sheep" on one path and the "goats" on another. All students will receive both academic and occupational training, and their interest in one area will not preclude their switching to another if they change their minds. For instance, if the student who pursues an interest in mechanical drafting decides during high school or after graduation that he wants to go to college for an engineering degree, that route will be open to him. His earlier choice will not have been an irreversible one. On the other hand, the college-bound student who later drops out of college will have skills to fall back on and will not feel like, or be treated as, a failure.

In a Career Education program, the choices involved will be made by students, not by teachers or administrators. Career Education will offer students a wide range of possibilities in many fields. It will be a totally interconnected, yet flexible, system based on a graduated career-oriented program starting in elementary and secondary school, and culminating in 2-year institutions, universities, and graduate and professional schools.

The student will be able to spin off from such a system at any point along the line, according to the career opportunities available and his own interests and abilities, with a sense of pride and accomplishment instead of a sense of incompleteness.

Career Education can lead the student to a law or medical degree, or it can lead to equally desirable non-degree career programs such as those for computer programmers, television and radio technicians, and jet engine mechanics. Consequently, it will offer the means for the majority of black students to gain the skills and expertise to qualify for the technical, paraprofessional, and modern service-oriented careers that will account for the bulk of job opportunities in the future.

Society's Needs Today

Our society today seeks trained technicians. There is no longer a place for the unskilled worker. As recently as 10 years ago, about 10 percent of our Nation's young people could be absorbed each year in unskilled fields. Today that number is down to less than 4 percent and is decreasing rapidly.

At the other end of the spectrum, job opportunities for college graduates in many fields are shrinking. In between these two extremes is a vast area that is only beginning to be explored. An estimated 50 percent of job openings in the 1970's will require training beyond high school but less than 4 years of college. An additonal 30 percent of job openings will require only occupational training at the high school level.

With this in mind, it is senseless to cling doggedly to a system that offers little to challenge the student who is not academically inclined. That our education system is outmoded and in need of drastic revision and improvement is a contention beyond the point of debate.

The majority of students who do not prepare for college receive general education courses that are boring and irrelevant to most. Even those who do enter college are often poorly prepared so that the first year of college has become a remedial course to make up for the failure of our public schools.

The public is well aware of these shortcomings. Throughout the country, taxpayers are voting against bond issues and increased taxes for education. They are not voting against education as such, but against a system that is turning out millions of youngsters unable to read at the sixth-grade level and unable to do math at the eighth-grade level.

At the same time, the students are saying "no" by dropping out or demonstrating against a system they consider out of tune with the world around them.

We must respond to this demand for change, and Career Education is one approach that certainly deserves close scrutiny as a means for making education relevant and useful for every student.

Career Education and Society's Needs

Some may object that the role of education is not job training but the turning out of well-rounded, cultured, and literate citizens. It is neither one nor the other; it must be both. All education is Career Education. The student who enters medical school or pursues a degree in teaching or the social sciences is preparing for a career. But that student should have an adequate background in subjects of a general nature, as should the student who elects a career choice requiring only a high school education or a year or two of postsecondary preparation.

Expectations of the Public

The public at large is under no delusions about the nature of education. Parents, and particularly minority parents, are demanding a system of education close to the community—a system that will give their children the skills they need to take their place in society. The term Career Education may be new to many, but the public always has viewed our schools in terms of career preparation, expecting them to prepare children for a job. Indeed, a high school diploma has been needed to obtain a good job. So education consistently has been regarded as the means for career preparation and economic security. In addition, education has been expected to be relevant, not only to the world of work but to the need of the community for an informed citizenry.

The expectations of the public have not changed. However, technology and the job market have changed to the point that a general high school program is of little value in preparing students for modern jobs. Now our *schools* must change so that a high school education once again has some value in preparing students for the employment market.

Since modern jobs require new skills, the schools must assume the task of teaching those skills. To leave that task up to job training and manpower programs is an abdication of responsibility.

Manpower Training Programs

Indeed, nothing is more indicative of the failure of our school system than the great growth and need for manpower training programs today. We are fortunate that these programs exist, for they have helped many thousands of individuals who are casualties of our public school system. And minorities, which compose less than 20 percent of the labor force, make up 44 percent of manpower program trainees.

Due to the need to retrain workers to keep up with fast-changing technology, manpower training and on-the-job training programs will probably be with us indefinitely. But they must never be looked on as an escape hatch allowing our school system to avoid making the changes needed to provide educational programs responsive to the modern needs of all students. In such an eventuality, only a small number of students would receive college preparatory education, and the remainder would have the option of sitting out their time in high school or dropping out prior to entering a job-training program outside the school system.

The Role of Career Education

Meaningful and realistic career preparation must begin in high school, or even earlier, and must be coupled with adequate basic education to complement the occupational skills taught.

When career concepts can be used successfully to make the teaching of basic academic subjects more interesting and relevant, the academic achievements for most students will be increased. This will mean the possibility that a greater number of students will further expand their options by being qualified for and interested in pursuing higher education. Those who do enter college will be better qualified at the entry level.

Career-oriented Programs Evaluated

This aspect of Career Education is not untried. In Baltimore, Maryland, and New Haven, Connecticut, potential dropouts became interested all over again in school when courses leading them into health occupations were introduced. Out of the one group of pupils in this program, 60 percent received better grades in *all* subjects. In another group over half the students not only finished high school but are now in college.

Generally, the dropout rate for students taking occupational courses is much lower than for those taking general education courses. The former group stays in school because students are motivated and are learning something that has relation to the world around them. They are not dealing in the abstract but see clearly defined paths and goals ahead of them.

The record of achievement after school is encouraging also. While it is believed that two out of five college graduates with liberal arts or education backgrounds are unemployed or seriously underemployed, it is estimated that 85 percent of all high school graduates with occupational skill training find work in their chosen fields.

For example, among June 1971 graduates of two technical schools in the St. Louis area, 53.4 percent are employed in the occupations for which they were trained or in closely related fields. Another 5.5 percent are taking postsecondary training in junior and community colleges or in trade schools, while 31.7 percent are employed in other occupations. Others are in the military services or otherwise not available for employment. Most are making salaries comparable to persons with 4-year college degrees.[4]

Placement figures are a good index of the effectiveness of career-oriented programs. Of the individuals who completed secondary occupational training programs during fiscal year 1969, 62.6 percent were available for placement. Of these, 76.8 percent were employed in training-related fields and 14.3 percent in unrelated fields. The unemployment rate was only 5.2 percent.

The level of unemployment experienced by this particular group is significantly lower than that for the total population of the work force at comparable ages. All 16- to 19-year-olds in 1969 experienced 12.5 percent unemployment. The rate for all school dropouts was 17.5 percent. For blacks and other minorities it was 24 percent.

Figures on the unemployment rates of the academic and general education high school students who did not make it to the university but went directly into the job market are not available to compare with the 5.2 percent record of the students with skill training. Obviously, however, it must be well above the 5.2 percent figure to raise the overall unemployment rate to 12.5 percent. Of those individuals who, upon completion of occupational training programs, were not available for placement, 69.6 percent were reported as continuing their education full time.

These figures show that career-oriented education can work, that it provides students with marketable skills, and that it leads to postsecondary education as well as directly into the job market. This fact is particularly significant for black students, for whom dropout and unemployment rates are high. Career Education offers a chance to broaden the opportunities for blacks and to help them out of the frustrating rut in which our present restrictive educational system places them.

Conclusion

Career Education is an evolving concept and still means different things to different people. If properly implemented, it could forge great changes in our creaky education system. It should not be looked upon as a panacea for all our educational ills, but it should be examined closely and given a chance to work.

Blacks should watch closely the development and implementation of Career Education to see that their interests are fully covered. If Career Education works, it can be a great boon to the black community, but it will also bring other issues to the fore.

If large numbers of black students suddenly emerge from our schools qualified as technicians and paraprofessionals in various fields, the whole issue of job discrimination finally will have to be dealt with head on. The entire issue of apprenticeship and labor union membership will also become more crucial. If our schools start turning out qualified journeymen in the trade fields, perhaps we should demand that high school graduation carry with it automatic entry into the trade unions.

Career Education has begun in model school districts under grants from the U.S. Office of Education. Some States are introducing Career Education programs on their own. The Career Education concept is becoming a reality. It should be a subject of major concern for the black community and black leaders.

I recommend the formation of a permanent National Policy Council on Education for Blacks, consisting of educators, black leaders in other professional fields, and lay members of the black community. The council should look closely at Career Education, along with other means of improving education for blacks, with a view toward tightening the bonds between education and the community, thereby making education once again serve the needs of the people.

Footnotes

1. U.S. Department of Commerce 1970 Census Reports.
2. "From Polarization to Pluralism," in *Agony and Promise, Current Issues in Higher Education*, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969), p. 60.
3. In *Black Belt Diamonds* (1898; reprint ed., New York: The Negro University Press, 1969), p. 24.
4. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 14 October 1971.

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A strong advocate of Career Education, Mr. Stanley suggests that the most effective and economical method of educating for the world of work is to use resources already available in the community. He attacks the notion that work situations can be simulated in the classroom with any degree of success and believes that businessmen would welcome the opportunity to have an active role in preparing young people for adult responsibilities. He suggests that an early insight into employer expectations and work responsibilities will give students an edge on those who do not have a similar chance to test reality.

Making Career Education a Two-Way Street

Edwin M. Stanley

Listen carefully, and you discover that communication between the education and business communities is *not* taking place. Town and gown should be discussing how today's students can be prepared to direct tomorrow's world. Instead, business and education are delivering a series of monologues.

What is the result of this lack of communication? A graduate comes to my placement office with no accurate idea of what he can offer us or what the work world can offer him. The very success of our enterprise depends on the talents of this young person, and yet we're forced to look helplessly at him, wondering what his reality is and how we should respond to it.

How different–and how delightful–if a prospective employee were to come to us and say, "In high school I had some exposure to electronics and job experience, and I'm really turned on by what you're doing in assembly and production. I'd like to take some engineering courses at night and want to work up in your organization to production, perhaps engineering." We would leap out of our chairs getting him an application blank and a pencil.

The Businessman as Educator

Actually, there's no reason why a dichotomy between business and education should exist. Both are engaged in the same activities, and often they share the same goals.

Surprising as it may seem, the business community–with its primary reliance on people–performs a variety of educational tasks daily. Hiring employees is in itself an educationally related task similar to admitting students to a university. The employer must decide who is trainable and who isn't, who is motivated and who isn't, who has realistic expectations and who doesn't. After he has his employees on board, the employer has another set of "educational" problems to consider, problems concerned with human relations, sensitive management, on-the-job training and staff development.

So acute is the need for educating employees that, I suspect, in 10 or 20 years most companies will have a vice president for education. As I see it, education is definitely a corporate function. In most businesses, the major cost component is labor dollars. Educating employees is the process by which we try to optimize our investments in people, and we can learn a lot about educating them from the schools.

Bringing Business and Education Together

Why, we must ask ourselves, have educators and businessmen failed to get together? The fault lies, as most faults do, with both parties in question.

In the past, business had little use for the world of education because education has tended to be a mystical responsibility of the select few. Educators have tended to say, "we will do only what *we* think needs to be done, in ways only *we* can understand." Education has ignored the business world, too, largely because business has not been vocal enough in expressing its needs or active enough in making its resources available.

Career Education may offer a chance and a channel for some much-needed communication. In fact this two-way street may be the real strength of Career Education.

Perhaps the relation between business and education ought to be in the nature of a trade. Perhaps educators should go to the business community and offer the millions of dollars worth of equipment, the facilities, methods, curriculum, and highly trained staff in return for jobs, specialized equipment, and learning situations in the business world. What we would have is a trade of educational resources for real experiences using industrial resources.

Consider this situation: Joe, a middle-aged welder who has mastered his trade, still feels a nagging desire for self-improvement. Why couldn't he find a positive outlet and derive a sense of deep satisfaction from acting as a teacher of welding in a local Career Education program? For instance, every Friday afternoon 15 students might come and receive welding instruction directly from the man who knows it best. Some of Joe's "students" might even elect to work part time for credit in the company shop. As a result of this experience, all 15 students would understand the welding trade better, although a few might only learn that welding is not for them.

Or take another situation. A business representative from Belgium is in town visiting a local corporation. He might prepare a video-tape on the political and economic systems in his own country. This would make an excellent contribution to learning for classes studying current affairs or comparative economic systems that the school textbook (which may be out-of-date) could not provide.

Since many corporate enterprises already spend time exposing people in management training to various departments in their firms, why not use these kinds of programs as models for exploratory experiences that would allow school-aged young people to test reality?

We in the business world have seen what it is like when people come to us not knowing what to expect. We would like educators somehow to make it possible for young people to discover what it's like to hold different kinds of jobs, so graduates will have a better idea of what they do and do *not* want as careers.

Strategies for Getting the Job Done

Now that the need for interaction between the business and education communities has been established, implementation becomes the real challenge. There are always those who will look upon any new program, new business venture, or new product with skepticism. Borrowing some strategies from marketing experts, I believe that implementation will be smoother if we avoid involving institutions or individuals antagonistic to the program until it is established and expansion can begin.

To the essential question—"What can I do best, and what can the other fellow do for me?"—each community has four alternatives it can pursue.

The businessman faced with solving an employee educational problem can use his own facilities and his own personnel for that purpose; he can import personnel to teach in his own facilities; he can send his own expert personnel to teach his employees using the school's facilities; or he can send people needing educational services into the schools, utilizing expert school personnel.

These same four alternatives are available to the school: school officials can build a metal shop and hire someone as a metals teacher; they can hire a paraprofessional from Ace Metal to staff the school shop; they can send a class, under the supervision of one of the metals teachers, to use the Ace Metal facility; or they can send students to Ace Metal to be taught by Ace personnel.

In the same way that the vice president for education will have to coordinate various educational experiences for employees, the director of a Career Education program will have to become a "broker" coordinating the resources of his community.

One Career Education strategy I do not support is simulation, in the school, of experiences that are probably available not more than 1000 yards away. If a teacher would take students out the door of the school, down the block, knock on a door and say, "May we come in and watch for half an hour?" who would refuse? It makes more sense to me to ask for money for buses to take students to real-world situations around town, than to waste money on instructional simulations that are based on inadequate approximations of real experiences. Not only is equipment costly, but there is no way schools can afford to keep pace with the vast changes in technology that the business and industrial community must face daily.

Were I to have a hand in designing the educational program of a new community, I would try wherever possible to buy the services of those who are involved with community problems on a day-to-day basis. I would go to a lawyer who charges $50 an hour for his services and buy some of his time each month to conduct seminars on the legal aspects of good citizenship. This educational program would be available to youth, employees, and senior citizens as well. Anyone, "school-aged" or not, should be served. People must come to see that education is a process that does not end after graduation and job entry.

Career Education as Exposure

Perhaps the major function of Career Education is exposure. It may not be as directive as we tend to think it is. Every young child eventually cuts his hand and burns himself and learns how to avoid such events in the future. Maybe every teen-agèr should have the experience of showing up late and having his supervisor upset with him. This is part of the down-side risk which should be experienced early in the preparation process rather than later on in the career.

I recall when I was learning to fly an airplane I once almost landed with the wheels up. I approached for the landing and suddenly a horn sounded which indicated that the wheels were still up even though the engines had been throttled back for landing. I had to respond and I had to respond quickly. Later my instructor told me he had been waiting patiently for at least 3 weeks for that to happen so that I would be forced to react appropriately–to put theory into practice. We had simulated that very experience two or three times in the air but my instructor knew that my skills would be more sharply refined by actually experiencing the condition.

Youth organizations like Junior Achievement and Distributive Education Clubs of America are the closest things in the educational system today that approach reality. Activities like the senior class play, the school orchestra, and the chorus give students real-life experiences. The other 95 percent of the kids who do not participate are in trouble. It is through a new kind of alliance with business, industry, and commerce–better yet, the community-at-large–that their needs for reality will be met.

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Dr. Willard is concerned with designing the content of Career Education to take into account the needs of its "consumers"–the individual and the private and public sectors of society. He discusses the roles of the public and private sectors as employers and the legality of using public funds to train future employees of the private sector of society.

Finally, Dr. Willard presents a model set of operational objectives for secondary schools, along with a comprehensive system for designing occupational clusters.

Relating the Concept and Content to the Consumers

Norman Willard, Jr.

Career Education, as a concept, has been used by educational authors and architects to describe a wide variety of educational content. In this essay the concept of Career Education is regarded as encompassing the assistance of young men and women in the achievement of self-realization and self-fulfillment. It is assumed that Career Education should be focused on preparing students for a full and enriching life, not just a job.

In the Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, Chairman Henry Wriston acknowledged:

> The basic natural resource of the United States is its people. It follows inescapably that the first national goal to be pursued at all levels—federal, state, local, and private—should be the development of each individual to his fullest potential . . . . When any citizen, for whatever reason, is deprived of this development, it is a denial of one of his unalienable rights. It is a threat to the rights and well-being of the rest of us. It is a subtraction from the viability of our democracy. Every incompetent citizen is a menance to the freedom of all.[1]

To this end Wriston recognized that "political strength, economic growth, [and] security of the nation unite in demanding personal development. Social considerations make the same demand. An underdeveloped citizen—physically, mentally, morally—is not an energizer but a burden upon society."[2]

The concept of Career Education is equated in the discussion that follows with *personal development* as used by Wriston and his fellow commissioners.

Consumers of Career Education

The statement that the general public comprises the consumer/customer population for that public service called education should not surprise anyone. However, it is also axiomatic that any consumer service should derive its justification and earn its support as a direct consequence of its utility to the would-be consumer. Thus, one should examine the needs of the consumers of the service before attempting to justify its support.

Relating the Concept and Content to the Consumers

The two primary consumers of Career Education are the individual and the society. The latter can be subdivided into countless categories, but for this discussion only the distinction between the public and the private sectors will be used.

The Individual as Consumer

The individual student represents the most obvious and primary consumer of Career Education. The difficulties associated with characterizing today's or tomorrow's students are countless. As a result of the current knowledge explosion and the variety of media, today's students have greater access to information and less assistance in its interpretation than any preceding generation. Students today face a rapidly changing and extremely complex environment that undergoes fundamental changes during the 12 short years they spend in school.

The student, as a result of this rapid rate of change, may find identification and understanding difficult to achieve. Often he is confused about goals and personal worth, about needs and achievement, and about interpersonal relations and values.

If these conditions prevail after 12 years of public education, it is unlikely that young citizens will achieve the full personal development that the Commission on National Goals recommends.

The citizens of a free society need skills and knowledge that will assure maintenance of freedom of choice and, at the same time, assist them in maximizing their opportunity for individual growth and development.

The list of the requisite skills and knowledges for adult life should be derived by analysis of the functional requirements of adults operating in their daily environment. Preliminary analysis indicates that individuals engage in two main processes–decisionmaking and manipulative action. The exercise of either process implies attempts at life adjustment by an individual. While some actions have immediate effect only on the individual, others impact directly on society.

Further analysis of adult performance reveals many complex interactions between the individual and general society in which the individual trades his skills or talents, as translated through effort, for those which another element of society possesses. Labels such as commerce, exchange, barter, or employment commonly are applied to these interactions.

In the process of life adjustment, every individual has many knowledge and skill requirements.

Knowledge requirements. To make appropriate choices concerning educational goals, occupational or vocational careers, and leisure-time activities, each individual must acquire knowledge about his aptitudes, interests, and abilities.

And he must understand their relationship to the education and training requirements, working conditions, compensation, lifestyle, and leisure-time pursuits associated with the full range of life adjustment or career options. Such information is essential in maximizing the utility of the self-adjustment decisions while minimizing the likelihood of resultant frustration. In addition, each individual must have knowledge about the needs and rights of other individuals and about the group processes and social systems that serve as the basis for complex interactions between individuals. However, knowledge alone is not enough; personal adjustment also requires the acquisition of some basic skills.

Skill requirements. There are several basic skills essential to life adjustment. Foremost among these is communication, for without this skill an individual can neither learn from nor properly serve his fellow man.

The second most essential skill is the ability to deal with the social, commercial, and environmental dimensions of life in a quantitative mode. Quantitative skills are so fundamental that without them there could be no value systems, no basis for compromise, or no concept of equality.

Given skills in communication and quantitative analysis, each individual should be provided with skill in problem solving, including problem analysis and decisionmaking as enabling steps. To the degree that problem-solving skill is limited, the exercise of freedom of choice is inhibited. Therefore, problem solving must be considered an essential skill in the process of formulating life decisions.

While the foregoing skills are important in individual and interpersonal adjustment, those skills that aid in commerce often are equally useful in the satisfaction of personal needs.

There are three classes of skills that aid in the achievement of the level of performance from which one can provide effective service to his fellow man in fair exchange for goods, services, recognition, or friendship. The first of these is the basic skills group (communication, quantitative analysis, and decisionmaking). The second includes several common manipulative skills (working with materials and concepts) generic to broad classes of occupations. The third group contains specific skills required to perform the elements of tasks that comprise a current job in an existing occupation. These job-related skills may draw heavily on the basic and generic skills contained in the first two classes, but they also represent new skills, new combinations of skills, and new levels of skill development that usually have narrow, job-specific, and sometimes employer-specific application.

Society as the Consumer

The public sector. All of society has a vested interest in the consequences of education, but for the public sector the interest is manifested in two ways. First, the public sector has the responsibility for protecting, assisting, and at times restraining each citizen. To the degree that an individual is able to provide for himself and control his infringement on the rights of others, the public sector's task is reduced. Thus, one direct consequence of an effective education system could be reduced costs of public service. A second concern of the public sector arises from the fact that Federal, State, and local elements of the public sector combine as significant employers of those young men and women who have been in the school system. Public-sector jobs cover such areas as postal service, police and fire protection, sanitation service, military service, health and welfare administration, and education.

This heterogeneous array of public-sector jobs demands some technical and highly specialized skills. However, as an employer the public sector seeks, first and foremost, to employ young people who possess the basic skills described earlier and who have a broad base of general skills on which the special or technical skills may be added as a result of job training or have been added in university or technical training centers.

The private sector. Like the public sector, the private sector has a dual interest in the products of the school system. The private sector exists because it provides either products or services to its customer market. To survive, the private sector must have skilled, efficient, and motivated producers and bright, economically strong, and motivated consumers. Obviously, the private sector would profit well if both the producer and the consumer were fully prepared for their roles by the public school system.

However, because of the great diversity in private enterprise, it would be impossible to prepare students to serve all elements of the private sector equally well, either as employees or as customers. In fact, many political, economic, social, and even moral issues could arise if public school efforts were directed at assisting certain types of private industry. Some might even question whether it is appropriate for the public school system to provide students with any more than the most generic job preparation or consumer skills.

The private sector, like the public sector, has a constant demand for young people who possess a reliable degree of excellence in the basic skills of communication, quantitative analysis, and decisionmaking. In addition, the private sector finds that the broad, generic, task-oriented skills can serve as an excellent base on which to build the job-specific skills required by each industry. Where specific skills are needed, the private sector continues to employ a limited number of young people who have received post-high school training at a college or at a technical school. Recently, this practice has come under critical review by industry since (a) many graduates of higher education have unrealistic salary and career expectations, (b) much of the education received has little commercial utility, and (c) rapidly changing technology makes retraining and continuing education a more viable alternative than the one-shot educational pattern of the past two decades.

The ideal role, indeed responsibility, of private enterprise in Career Education is that of seer. For without the private sector's projections of manpower needs in terms of numbers and skills and without descriptions of the projected working environment and terms of compensation, the schools would be unable to present students with valid data on occupational options. In addition, the schools would be unable to validate their generic skills programs and relate these skills to the appropriate functional contexts. And as a consumer, the private sector should provide feedback to the school system on the effectiveness of these programs.

Constraints on the Consumer

The public sector. For many years it was difficult for the public sector to compensate employees adequately or to guarantee job security. More recently, through Civil Service enactments and salary and benefits adjustments, public-sector employment has become more competitive in the labor market.

During times of economic stress, the public sector has been used as the sponge to absorb excess members of the Nation's work force. Under these circumstances, the public sector must create jobs that provide a useful—but often low-priority—public service and that require relatively little specific skill training. At these times the public-sector employer needs a work force that possesses the previously mentioned broad range of general and readily transferable skills as a base from which to adapt to the tasks at hand. From the point of view of public economy, it is most regrettable that in recent years the public sector has been forced to perform or support a remedial education function. While remedial programs do occupy the unemployed and prepare them for future employment, they divert public funds from the delivery of other valuable public services. Thus, it costs the taxpayer in two ways: (a) by duplicating prior expenditures for basic education and (b) by depriving the public of needed services.

The private sector. Obviously, the private sector is concerned about manpower development costs. In service industries, 85 percent of the operating costs are people costs. In these people-intensive businesses, the efficiency of the employee is paramount and skill and motivation are basic to efficient performance. Therefore, a few of the private sector industries would be delighted if the public schools would produce, to their specifications, highly skilled and well-disciplined candidates for immediate employment. However, most of the private sector recognizes that this view is shortsighted. The consumer population for any industry must be larger than the producer population. Therefore, the schools must develop young people who can operate effectively in a wide variety of productive modes and thereby serve and be served within an open market of commerce.

However, there may be an even more fundamental philosophical and legal question associated with using public funds to prepare young people for employment in a private enterprise. The question of whether or not this would be misuse of public funds for the special benefit of a selected segment of society has not been tested in the courts. However, numerous writers have addressed the issue.

Speaking of technical and vocational training in his essay, "Education and the Triple Revolution," W.H. Ferry pointed to the need for "a new system of regional technical institutes whose programs will be determined by those organizations, public and private, . . . and whose costs will be met by the same organizations."[3]

Paul A. Samuelson has suggested that vocational education, if furnished publicly, should be financed under the market principle (by direct charges to the recipients of the service) rather than the budget principle (provided free of charge and financed by general taxation).[4] More recently, the President's Commission on School Finance recommended "that the Federal Role in elementary and secondary education embrace . . . stimulating state and local public and private activity to meet national concerns and interests and, where necessary, providing continuing financial support."[5] The key phrase here is "where necessary."

The basic issue in the roles of both the school system and the private sector in specific job training, as opposed to generic skills training, centers around social responsibility, human exploitation, and the misuse of public funds. If a school program provides education and training that meets society's needs without favoring a particular segment of society and that meets individual needs without restricting growth or options, then surely there would not be a valid charge of misuse of public funds. To this point Walter W. Heller has suggested that the redistributive motive might be applied to vocational training if public funds could be used to reduce "economic inequality through greater equality of opportunity." If, "in the process, it strengthens the economy's productive capacity," then society in general has been served.[6]

The foregoing discussion describes an area of concern about the responsibility of the private sector and the schools in jointly or individually influencing the direction of public education. The concepts and concerns apply equally whether the schools or the private sector are using public funds for the purpose of educating or training.

However, these fundamental issues, which are begging for attention, are no more important than questions that bear directly on *what* is to be taught and for *what purpose*.

Norman Willard, Jr.

Content of Career Education

The concept of Career Education is best defined in terms of its content. If the concept is to meet the needs of the consumers, then the content must be designed around specific objectives that derive from the stated needs. Recently, in its report on the status of guidance services in New York City schools, the Board of Education Guidance Advisory Council, composed of representatives from interested citizen groups, acknowledged that they "could not find a specific set of behavioral objectives for the City's secondary education system." Faced with the task of evaluating a school service in the absence of a set of objectives for the school, the Council concluded that it needed to establish some objectives for the New York system. Thus the Council prepared a set of operational objectives that it concluded was "reflective of the concerns and aims expressed by students, parents, and school staff." These objectives are:

1. Since self-appreciation, or self-esteem, is critical to individual learning and growth, the high school student should be assisted to develop an appreciation of himself–his feelings, his perceptions of himself and others, his worth and place in the school community, his ability to affect and influence others positively.
2. The high school student should be enabled to demonstrate the skills for dealing effectively with his own *intra*personal concerns as manifested in his ability to assess his own aptitudes, interests, and capabilities and to use such self appraisal to facilitate planning and action for immediate and future roles.
3. The high school student should be enabled to demonstrate the knowledge and skills of *inter*personal relations and processes. This would include, for example, knowledge of how to identify the desires, interests, needs, and rights of others, as well as specific skills in listening, speaking, and nonverbal communication, and the techniques of group leadership and membership, persuasion, negotiation, and advocacy.
4. The high school student should be enabled to demonstrate competence in the decisionmaking process and skill in problem solving, both of which are necessary for living in a complex, ever-changing society and, in the broader context, for meeting society's need for new and novel solutions to its problems.
5. The high school student should be enabled to demonstrate mastery of the basic skills in communications and computation. Without these skills, there are few options open to the individual with regard to work, education, and play.
6. The high school student should be able to develop through his courses those skills required to define problems, test hypotheses, analyze and communicate findings, and plan and implement

programs to facilitate effective performance in a wide range of scientific, economic, political, social, industrial, and artistic options.

7. The high school student should be enabled to identify and avail himself of educational and vocational options so that he can make intelligent and appropriate choices about his roles and goals in life. He should be able to make choices that are reasonable at a particular point in time and that do not have the effect of blocking a future change in course.
8. The high school student should be enabled to demonstrate a facility in at least one generic, marketable skill or competence to provide a greater sense of security and freedom essential to his or her mental health and well-being. This might well be the individual's capacity for learning itself.
9. The high school student should be encouraged to develop his own talents and creative skills both to satisfy his needs for self-expression and as a vehicle for enriching the society within which he lives.
10. The high school student should be enabled to identify leisure-time options and to enjoy leisure-time pursuits. The school must become increasingly aware of the growing importance of avocational or nonvocational interests as the work week becomes shorter and opportunities for leisure time become greater.
11. The high school student, as a citizen of a variety of communities, should be enabled to identify and evaluate the objectives, methods, and results of existing social systems and the processes for maintaining and for introducing change in these systems. This kind of learning experience should be from the point of view of observer and participant, and should include the use of all media.
12. The high school student should be enabled to identify the basic concepts and practices of personal hygiene, preventive medicine, and public health, and to demonstrate skill in those exercises and activities which contribute to physical fitness.[7]

This set of secondary school objectives calls for design of an environment in which students develop those life skills essential for optimum personal adjustment while maintaining the greatest possible degree of individual freedom. However Objective 8, which deals with the requirement for "at least one generic, marketable skill or competence . . .," does not provide the definition necessary for subsequent program design. Therefore, to design this segment of a Career Education program, one would need a projection of the performance requirements of our Nation for the foreseeable future. Though such projections are difficult to make with any degree of accuracy, some indications of future trends are available to Career Education planners.

From data reported by the U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics, it must be concluded that nearly one-third of all job openings through 1980 will be in service occupations, as indicated in the following list:

Typists, stenographers, secretaries
Retail and wholesale salespeople
Household workers
Bookkeeping workers and bank clerks
Nurses, registered and practical
Hospital attendants
Teachers (K through 12)
Mechanics/Repairmen
Cashiers and bank tellers
Waiters/Waitresses[8]

In an attempt to design an occupational clustering system for the Comprehensive Career Education Model being prepared by The Center for Vocational and Technical Education at the Ohio State University, the Human Resources Research Organization conducted a study of occupational clustering systems and concluded no one adequate system existed.[9] They proposed a new clustering system that could "fulfill three instructional functions: inform students about the world of work, assist students in choosing a suitable career, and provide models to shape instructional objectives and learning experiences."[10]

While this work represents a major step forward in the efforts to outline an occupational clustering system that would encompass most existing jobs, it appears bound by curriculum and job-clustering traditions, rather than aimed at the operational parameters that define classes of activities.

Beginning with the generic functions that people perform in commerce with others or in self-maintenance, it might be possible to establish both the functional process and the operational context and thereby provide the functional context that HumRRO appropriately advocates for Career Education.

The following list, prepared by the author, is proposed as an alternative and preliminary example of clustering.

Systems services	Including typing, filing, clerical-item processing, stenography, secretarial functions, and record and bookkeeping.
Persuasion	Including sales, leadership, negotiation, management, coaching, teaching, and use of media.
Human services	Including care for sick, aged, and young; cleaning; food service; transportation; housing; health; counseling; entertainment; safety; and ombudsman.
Personal management	Budgeting, health, physical fitness, credit, taxes, hygiene, recreation, and household operation.

Systems maintenance	Preventative maintenance; troubleshooting and repair of mechanical, electrical, and electronic equipment.
Resource management	Environmental pollution control, forestry, water and mineral conservation, public health, and agriculture.
Construction	Planning, layout, cost estimation, use of materials (including wood, metal, masonry, and plastics), and use of tools.
Systems management	Problem analysis, system design, engineering, work flow, organization development, resource planning, and information systems.

Summary

In this essay the concept of Career Education was equated with programs designed to prepare young people in those life adjustment skills that will contribute to full development of individual potential. The public and private sectors of society were identified, along with the individual students, as the consumers of educational services. The needs of the individual for knowledge about himself, society, and the commerce between the two were reviewed. Basic, generic, and specialized skill needs were discussed in the context of employment. And interpersonal skills were related to personal adjustment.

The interests in education of both the public and private sectors of society were compared, and significant similarities were noted. It was pointed out that there were some important constraints on both the public and private sectors with regard to involvement in public education but that there should be a strong correspondence between the needs of the consumer and the goals of education. A set of general objectives for secondary education was presented, and the HumRRO occupational clustering system was discussed in the context of guidance for the development of the content of Career Education.

Throughout the essay there is an emphasis on the importance of enhancing the developmental opportunities and options of the public school student. This can be achieved only when the functional requirements of adults operating in their normal environment become an integral part of the school curriculum.

Footnotes

1. *Goals for Americans* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1960), p. 53.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
3. In *Voices of Crisis*, ed. Floyd W. Matson (New York: The Odyssey Press, Inc., 1967), p. 232.
4. "The New Look in Tax and Fiscal Policy," in *Federal Tax Policy for Economic Growth and Stability*, Prepared for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, 84th Cong. 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 234.
5. "Schools, People, and Money – The Need for Educational Reform" (Washington, D.C.: The President's Commission on School Finance, 1972). p. xii.
6. "Reflections on Public Expenditure Theory," *Private Wants and Public Needs*, ed. Edmund S. Phelps (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1962), pp. 155-156.
7. "Report of the Guidance Advisory Council" (New York City: Board of Education, 1972), pp. 14-17.
8. Reproduced as "Tomorrow's Manpower Needs," in *The New York Times Encyclopedia Almanac* (New York: The New York Times Company, 1971), p. 577.
9. John E. Taylor et al., *An Occupational Clustering System and Curriculum Implications for the Comprehensive Career Education Model* (Alexandria: HumRRO Technical Report 72-1, January 1972).
10. Ibid., pp. v-vi.

Redesigning the System

4

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An examination of the various terms we use to describe work leads Dr. Green to believe that personal worth too often is determined by the respectability of one's job. Actually, a person's career may be quite different from his job, and in the last analysis education for careers must be considered more important than education for employment.

The author warns that Career Education must not be regarded as a panacea. While the schools can educate students for careers or jobs, they cannot attack the pathologies of work–such as dead-end jobs–that create unique problems in a technological society. Rather, education must simulate the ways in which work roles will be organized in the future with emphasis on flexibility and cooperative activities.

Career Education and the Pathologies of Work

Thomas F. Green

Pathology, the science of disease, is concerned with the causes of disorders and their effects. The concept of pathology has no meaning except in relation to some understanding of healthfulness, wholesomeness, and normality. To speak of the pathologies of work, therefore, is to speak of the diseases, the disorders, or the unhealthy conditions to which work itself is subject. And that in turn presupposes that such things as the healthiness, wholesomeness, and normality of work exist.

The idea that there are pathologies of work is also a normative idea. It does not simply describe a state of affairs. Rather, it describes someone's idea of a *good* state of affairs. When we say that a certain condition of the liver is pathological, we imply that we know that that state is not normal, healthy, or wholesome. It is not good. And that implies that we have some idea of what *is* good, normal, healthy.

We are unlikely to get much detailed agreement on what constitutes a good society, nor are we likely to get much agreement on what constitutes Career Education. It may seem impossible, then, to develop any persuasive view of the relationship between Career Education and the pathologies of work, and still less possible to explore what curative effects we may reasonably expect from Career Education.

Pathology of What?

The prospect is not hopeless, however. We can take a different approach altogether. Whenever we speak of pathology, we must always be prepared to speak of the pathology of something or other. And we must always be able to answer what that something or other is. So no matter what we may identify in detail as the pathologies of work, we must be prepared to explain whether we are referring to a pathology of jobs, of the employment system, of the separation in some society of work from the rest of life, and innumerable other things.

It is worth noting that there may be some things that could be described as pathological that arise from the very nature of the human condition itself. That is, there may be some hopes, aspirations, and expectations men seek to attain through work that by their very nature will remain unsatisfied. In that case, it would make sense to suggest that some of the pathologies of work are in fact pathologies of man himself. If there are such pathologies, it is unlikely that Career Education, or for that matter any other kind of education, will do much to change them. I do not suggest this possibility because I believe it is true, but only to point out that to examine the relationship between Career Education and the pathologies of work and to speak realistically of what we may expect from Career Education, some elementary distinctions will be useful. There are important differences to be understood between (1) work and labor, and (2) work, job, vocations, and careers. The mere making of these distinctions will help to separate and arrange a great many issues that arise from Career Education and the pathologies of work.

Work and Labor

The term *work* is ambiguous in a way that the term *labor* is not. By work we may refer either to an activity itself or to the finished thing that results from that activity. The word is either a verb or a noun. We refer either to work or to *a* work. Indeed, what is essential to the concept of work itself is the connection between these two elements–the activity and the product or result of that activity.

Work Implies Durable Results

There is no need to elaborate extensively on these suppositions. But some important points need to be made explicit. The second supposition is really the idea of an immensely benign form of nature. We are asked to imagine a world in which the paintings, houses, tools, and utensils that are the works of men are present, but not as a result of any human effort. They are simply there, just as the plains, mountains, and streams are there. Food is prepared and the table is set, but nobody prepares it or sets it. Indeed, nobody makes the table. Under these conditions it is doubtful that the idea of civilization itself would remain unchanged. For the idea of civilization requires not simply that there be artifacts, but that those artifacts be the consequence of human effort. The concept of work itself, like the concept of civilization, requires that there be effort and that there be some durable result that is the consequence and end of that effort.

If the second supposition is really the conception of a benign form of nature, then the first supposition is the conception of a particularly self-defeating form of nature. For in the first supposition we are asked to imagine a world in which there is an expenditure of human energy to produce some works, but the failure to do so. The house dissolves, perhaps, as fast as it is constructed. No work can endure long enough to be completed. It is a world in which man is impotent, a world in which his energy is expended in futility.

Labor Never Ends

This idea that human energy might be spent without any result in some durable work is the idea that defines the concept of labor. Labor is that kind of activity that never ends, because it cannot result in any durable work itself. There are lots of activities like that. The table is set only to be undone. The ancients accepted slavery not because they disliked work, but because they recognized that certain activities answer to the fact that man is an animal rather than to the fact that he might be human. Those were the activities of labor. They were activities essentially slavish in the sense that they were endless, futile, and yet necessary. They corresponded not to the fact that man is a social, political, religious, or artistic creature, but to the fact that he is a biological creature. Thus, to be freed to *do* works, one must be freed *from* labor.

There is no need to accept the distinction as I have drawn it, but there is every need to understand the difference that the distinction is intended to illuminate. It is a difference deeply embedded in Western literature, philosophy, and attitudes toward work. It is the difference between human potency and human futility.

We all recognize the pathos of the life spent in accomplishing some great work only to see it vanish in an hour of disaster. And that pathos is easily translated into moral offense when we see people, through no fault of their own, rendered impotent. Work, it can be said, is man's refusal to acknowledge that his life is futile, pointless, and without effect, that his energies have been expended without avail. This is a condition against which men have always shouted in defiance. It may almost be taken as the definition of man–i.e., he, among all creatures, is the one who demands most to escape from labor into work.

Transforming Work Into Labor

The first and most serious pathologies of work, therefore, are all those that stem from the tendency to transform work into labor. Many exist. I shall discuss some in more detail later, but the principle can be seen in the following points. When it happens that things made to be used are now made only to be used *up*, then it also happens that in some degree, energy expended to produce a work is now expended without that result. That is the transformation of work into labor. The object of the work is converted from a use object to a consumer object with all the transitoriness and tentativeness that that implies. The result phenomenologically can be the difference between work and labor. Or again, it sometimes happens in the excessive rationalization of work tasks that the expenditure of energy in the task is so far removed from any resultant object that it can be understood only as an act of labor.

We often overlook this fact, because when we describe a work task, we usually make the connection between the effort and its object. Instead of describing the task as "plugging this thing into this device and reading the dial," we describe the task as "testing circuit components." Or instead of saying "I want you to push pieces of paper like this into this slot, and pieces like this into this slot," we say "I would like you to sort the mail to each of the different departments." But clearly the principle involved in this kind of description of work tasks is our acknowledgement that in many contexts the tasks to be performed have no clear or visible relation to their purpose or aim in some stable or durable result. That is, the tasks resemble labor more than they do work. We find it necessary to give the activity some connection to its object to describe it as work. Without that connection, many activities required in the job structure of the society would be recognized for what they are: *absurd activities.*

Finally, we might observe that work gets transformed into labor when the specific tasks required in a particular work position do not require the exercise of any human capacities such as intelligence, judgment, or a sense of craft.

Work, Job, Vocation, and Career

There are two fundamentally contrasting ways to understand the idea of a career. And there is an enormous difference between them. No matter which view you wish to take, the idea that even most people should have a career is likely to strike many people as an excessively grandiose and unnecessarily serious and heroic view of life. But to understand such a point of view, it is useful to have some appreciation of how the ideas of jobs, careers, and vocations have developed historically.

A detailed exposition of the tortuous change of these ideas is unnecessary. Essentially, what happened was this. Before the Protestant Reformation the idea of vocation meant simply calling. And there was essentially only one kind of calling–the religious calling of the clergy and especially the regular clergy. No one was "called" to be a shoemaker, a tavernkeeper, or even a jurist. The ordinary jobs of the "common life" or even the lofty positions of leadership could not be described as "callings" or "vocations." They were simply jobs. They were the ways that people tried to make a living.

Influence of Luther

Luther, however, began to coordinate these ideas in a way that wrought a social revolution. We still live with the consequences of that revolution. In fact, our conceptions of Career Education are strongly shaped by it. What Luther did was to extend the idea of calling or vocation to include the jobs or roles that ordinary people in the fabric of society filled. Thus it became possible to speak of the role of tavernkeeper, maid, housewife, teacher, lawyer, and so forth as vocations; that is, they became callings. The central vocation of every Christian, of course, was to be the "bearer of love and of service to neighbor." But the way one was to do that was through his particular job or position. One was not to discharge his vocation as a Christian by escaping from the world in monastic retreat, nor by long pilgrimages, but in the particular station where he found himself.

The Christian should "carry out his calling within the calling wherein he was called," St. Paul implied. The word he used–*klēsis*–is the Greek term for God's calling of men to fellowship with him and to love and service of neighbor. It had nothing to do with jobs or with the way people make their living. But I imagine that when Luther read St. Paul and came to the second rendering of the word *calling* in this passage, he probably read the word that means religious calling, thought the Latin word "status," and wrote the German word "stand." Thus, he decided: "The Christian should carry out his calling within the job (or position or role) within which he received his calling." From the idea that one's job is the place where one carries out his calling, it is only a small step to the view that carrying out one's job is his calling.

So jobs got transformed from the idea of a mere economic role into the context for the performance of some useful religious service to neighbor. Consequently, they came to bear the heavy psychological freight of having to be the expression of one's self-identity. The usual account of Luther's contribution to our ideas on work and vocation is to say that he transformed the status of an ordinary job by infusing it with the religious idea of vocation. That is correct. But more importantly, for the first time a man's *work* became identified with his *job*. Luther thus transformed the idea of making a living into a *religious* work.

This identification of work and job has been enormously powerful and beneficial in many societies. The association of jobs with the performance of a religious duty has done much to raise the standards of craftsmanship and to increase the social expectation that jobs performed will be performed well. But this association of work and job also has been the source of much intellectual and practical mischief. Indeed, it is from the association of these two ideas that the second great class of pathologies can be seen to flow. I shall mention only three by way of illustration.

The "Dignity" of Work

It is often suggested that by extending the idea of vocation to the "callings of the common life," work received a dignity that it had never had before, and that this is an important asset in the development of modern industrial societies. But with the asset comes a liability. The fact is that it is never work itself that has dignity. It is always the worker. To confuse the two is what makes it possible for a society to insist that however demeaning a man's job may be, nonetheless he should somehow manage to find great *dignity* in its performance. And that result leads immediately to a second kind of pathology.

The idea that there is dignity in work itself, together with the idea that a man should find his work in his job, leads inevitably to the notion that the worker should find his dignity in his job. It leads to the notion that somehow one's own self-identity is to be displayed, discovered, and made public to others in the performance of his job. This is the association of ideas and dispositions that leads us to identify who a person is with what kind of job he holds.

For example, in the contemporary practices of education we ask a youngster, in effect, "What do you intend to be when you grow up?" rather than "How do you expect to make your living?" This educational approach is not only dysfunctional, but positively cruel in a society where many jobs that need doing cannot possibly provide a sense of self-identity or a central life interest. Abundant evidence suggests that in the United States today, many jobs–perhaps most jobs–do not provide people either with an adequate sense of self-identity or with any satisfactory central life interest. The result often is described as a kind of alienation from work. It would be more adequately described as alienation from jobs or from the institutions of employment. Clearly, people are finding it increasingly necessary to separate their jobs from the rest of their lives. They are tending to find their work, and certainly their life interests and their sense of self-identity, in some arena of activity away from their place of employment or their jobs.

Justifying a Job

The psychological and moral "fall-out" from this historic association of work and job also has led to some distressing educational conceptions and practices. In a world where a man's job is the vehicle for self-identity and self-expression, it follows that jobs will have to receive some social and moral justification. That is, we shall have to find a way–to take an extreme example–of demonstrating that the real justification for the job of installing telephones is that it is an important way of "connecting people." It is not enough to say merely that it is a decent way to make a living. It has to be a socially and morally needed activity. If the personal justification of the man is to be found in the justification of the job, then that job must be justifiable by its social and moral significance and not merely as a way of earning a living. It becomes unacceptable for a person to justify taking a certain job simply on the grounds that he is good at it and it returns enough income to do other things away from the job. Instead, he has to find some rationalization for taking the job on the grounds that it is good in itself. Under these conditions, part of the educational task is to teach people how to give acceptable moral and social justifications for pursuing self-seeking ends.

What may well be needed in the modern world of work, and therefore in modern education, is the observance in thought and practice of a clear distinction between work and job. It is true that in the modern world increasing numbers of people are not able to find any kind of central life interest or life work in their jobs. But if we begin to recognize this fact and to observe it in educational practice, we will also begin to see the difference between asking a child "What do you expect to be your life work?" and "How do you expect to earn a living?" The first question is really the basic issue in education for work. The second is the fundamental question in education for entry into the employment system. They are not the same questions. They do not require the same educational strategies or the same educational programs. Their differences are reflected in the contrast between the question "What are you going to be?" and "What are you going to do for an income?"

Careers Differ From Jobs

This last point leads immediately to a third distinction, the contrast not between vocations and jobs or between work and jobs, but between careers and jobs.

We must recognize that having a life work is different from having a particular job. There is an enormous difference between the man who sees his life in prospect as involved in the accomplishment of some work and the man who sees his life in retrospect as a mere succession of jobs he has held. Only the first, in the strict sense, has what can be called a career. The difference is between the man who sees his career defined by the jobs he has held and the man who engages in a succession of jobs because they contribute to his career. Having a career is different from having employment, even steady employment, or even steady employment over a lifetime. Indeed, there is no reason why anyone should find his career in or through his mode of employment at all. Career Education should never be confused with vocational education insofar as that kind of education is directed toward training for jobs or for employment. Careers most certainly will not develop without employment; but neither should education for careers ever be confused with education for employment. They are, therefore, two educational tasks that need to be distinguished–education for work or careers, and education for jobs or employment.

Career Education and the Pathologies of Work

The pathologies identified so far are not in fact pathologies of work. Nor are they pathologies of Career Education. They are the pathologies likely to arise in a changing society in which the place of work-life is no longer clear and in which the traditional ideologies used to explain the place of jobs and employment no longer command belief. These are the pathologies of the employment structure and of the institutions of employment in modern societies. If we ask to what extent we can expect the development of Career Education to change the conditions that lead to such pathological states, the answer must be that we cannot expect much.

The reasons for this judgment can be enumerated simply. In the first place, education has never proved to be a useful policy instrument for the transformation of basic social institutions. One reason is that its effects are too indirect and too long in appearing for it to be an effective force in changing basic institutions over the short and middle-range periods within which educational policy is likely to be framed and sustained. Secondly, it is always more likely that the structure of the employment system will influence the ways that work and jobs are presented in the process of education than that the educational system will influence the behavior of the employment system. Thus, if the significant pathologies of work have their roots in the employment system itself, we ought not to expect renewed focus on Career Education to make very significant differences in basic employment.

The Question of Alienation From Work

There is a final precaution. Much of the current literature on Career Education appears to stress the need to combat widespread alienation from work. I suspect that this emphasis is fundamentally misplaced. As far as I know, there is little evidence of any basic alienation from work in American society. On the other hand, as I tried to explain earlier in this essay, there is strong evidence of growth in alienation from the *institutions* of work or from the ways that jobs are structured and organized. There is alienation from the employment system. Furthermore, I have tried to explain why that alienation is often justified and why it is not likely to be reduced, let alone reversed, by anything that the educational system does in the way of Career Education.

My own judgement is that the Career Education movement is an important one. It is potentially of enormous benefit to American education and its capacity to equip people to lead wholesome and happy lives, if not actually useful lives. But unless those engaged in the enterprise learn to make some distinctions of the kinds that I have outlined, they will promise too much. More importantly, unless they learn to do so, the literature on the subject, as well as the practice, will continue to sound like a pleading to make the educational system a special department of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.[1] That is a movement which, besides being unlikely, is undesirable.

Mastery Learning and Dead-end Jobs

The point can be pressed. One of the developments in contemporary education is the expansion of what has been called "mastery learning." Mastery learning is based on the assumption that anyone can learn what anybody else can learn, only it may take some a longer time to do it. Thus, what should become the variable in instruction is not the level of mastery attained by anyone, but the amount of time it takes to reach a satisfactory level of mastery. All programed learning and all forms of individualization of instruction are based on the principles of mastery learning.

It is easy to see that nearly all employment settings involve the same principles. But imagine what it would be like to work in a situation in which one has mastered the lesson to be learned, and the lesson leads to no subsequent lesson. One is simply asked to learn the same thing over and over and over. The result would have to be a sustained, seething, fierce anger. Yet the fact is that an enormous number of blue-collar positions and even positions within the service occupations are of precisely that sort. They lead to no subsequent lesson. They are dead-end jobs. Under such circumstances, the alienation from work is really alienation from the job, and it is justified.

There are only two possible answers to such a problem. On the one hand, one might quit trying to overcome the alienation from such jobs, quit trying to give them some moral and social justification, and instead begin trying to assemble the social resources to help people find creative ways (which usually means inefficient ways) of using their abilities away from the job. The other answer to the problem is to attend to the hidden curriculum of the job structure itself in an effort to see that there are no jobs that have the character of a total mastery setting leading to no subsequent lesson. This would mean, of course, that the structure of employment institutions would then have to be examined in the light of their *educational* potential as a setting for human learning and development.

Attacking the Pathologies of Work

Neither of these attacks on the pathologies of work is likely to be carried out by the schools. The latter especially means that the greatest arena for Career Education is not in the schools, but in the employment offices and executive planning offices of major employer institutions. There are some recent developments that point in the direction of both tactics at once.

The German Experiment

In Germany, and more recently in the United States, employers have been experimenting with different versions of the work calendar. In Germany especially, one of the more interesting developments is the reintroduction of the time clock for all classes of employees, asking only that they complete a total of 40 hours of work in a week in any sequence they wish between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. provided that they are all present during the "core hours" of 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The experiment has been remarkably successful. The amount of sick leave has dropped; productivity and job satisfaction have increased. People now arrange their time as they wish, and they have learned to do so. They can work early in the morning or late at night, which permits them to arrange the employment of their creative powers in other ways away from the job. Thus, job alienation has decreased because a job does not need to take the "prime" hours of the day, and the individual's sense of dignity is enhanced because the use of his human capacities for judgment and decision is encouraged. Some real pathologies of work are being confronted in this experiment.

The Japanese System

Many observers have attributed the so-called Japanese "economic miracle" to the intense (almost familial) corporate loyalty that the major employers have instilled. The result is that transfer between companies in the past was regarded as a signal sign of disloyalty and a definite bar to promotion. Moreover, the amount of overtime in Japanese concerns has been among the highest in the world. Now both of these features are changing dramatically. The number of transfers between companies is increasing so rapidly that transferring is no longer seen as a bar to promotion, but as an instrument of education. Thus, the hierarchical structure of the employment system is being severely tested. In addition, it is increasingly the case that when Japanese workers are confronted with the choice of more overtime or more time away from the job to "do their own thing," they choose the latter.

There are evidences that in perhaps the two most "work-oriented" societies of the world, many of the pathologies of work are being met in ways compatible with the set of distinctions outlined in the beginning of this essay. The experiments mentioned above provide new approaches to defining the place of work in modern life, and in significant aspects they constitute a departure from the "work ethic" that has produced the pathologies of work. In neither case, however, are these attempts to deal with the pathologies of work carried on, in, by, or through the system of education. In each case implicit acknowledgement is made of the educational components that are discoverable within the ways that the employment system is structured. The experiments constitute the most direct and effective attack on the pathologies of work that I have encountered.

Conclusion

No scheme for education in any society can be regarded as successful if it fails to prepare the young to take authentic and responsible roles within adult society. It might be argued, then, that preparation for work must receive central attention in any satisfactory arrangements for education in any society. Thus, in a society in which work is a predominant aspect of most adult roles, it follows that the process of education must pay serious attention to preparation for work. Indeed, it would seem a shaky conclusion to suggest that essential educational tasks should not be carried out in some central way by the system of schools itself. But how should this be done to pay some serious attention to the pathologies of work?

The Yugoslavian experience[2] suggests that the central issue is how to organize the schools themselves, so that no matter what content they convey, they do it through a process and a system of social organization that simulate the ways work roles are organized. That should be an old idea to Americans whose schools have been modeled, timed, evaluated, and manned in the way that we run the industrial enterprise.

For Career Education in the new day, it means a vastly more flexible schedule of school operation, the teaching of management skills in reaching educational objectives, a stress of cooperative rather than competitive activities, the presentation of a greater variety of occupational roles for emulation, and a quicker and easier access to employment entry and return to the educational system. These, it seems to me, are the essential demands that Career Education places on the organization and conduct of schools. But heretofore I have seen very little of them expressed in the plans, policies, or programs of the movement.

Footnotes

1. See Kenneth Hoyt et al., *Career Education: What It Is and How To Do It* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1972).
2. In Yugoslavia, as in most socialist countries, attendance in school is viewed as work. It is the work that children do and are expected to do. Thus, it is organized as Yugoslavian industry is organized. The children organize themselves in cooperative groups to accomplish tasks defined by themselves, just as Yugoslavian workers do, and productivity is assessed not in simple and short terms, but over a substantial span of time.

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In this essay Dr. Bailey urges that school academic credit be given for demonstrable occupational, avocational, and personal competencies. He sees little merit in students merely filling time and residency requirements in high schools and colleges to earn a credential. Dr. Bailey examines present yardsticks for measuring competency, especially in educational institutions, and asks if they really meet the needs of students and society.

Career Education and Competency-Based Credentialism

Stephen K. Bailey

Career Education has attracted many definitions. I choose to interpret the adjective "career" as meaning something broader than "vocational" but something more focused in terms of coping skills than "general studies" or "liberal arts." One dictionary definition of career is "one's progress through life." Perhaps as useful a definition of Career Education as any might be an education that pays special attention to personal growth in terms of occupational, avocational, and personal skills friendly to "one's progress through life."

"Competency-based credentialism" is a rather fat phrase for a fairly muscular idea: persons should be awarded academic credits and degrees, or occupational licenses and certificates, on the basis of proven performance rather than on the basis of formal classes attended, prescribed courses completed, or arbitrary amounts of time served in a particular learning role. This notion, as we shall see, is a direct challenge to much existing practice.

The task of this brief essay is to attempt to interrelate the concepts of Career Education and competency-based credentialism – to see how the two ideas might support each other and to ferret out some of the ways in which a marriage between the two might be orchestrated.

Historical Background and Contemporary Context

Cultures have always established norms of performance and related credentialing agents to monitor those entrusted with particular skills. Nomadic hunters watched the emerging performance of sons before allowing them to hunt alone. Ancient priests and scribes set standards for the budding amanuensis. Councils of Elders of the medieval guilds established performance standards for master craftsmen.

In America, various boards of examiners have established who may practice law, pharmacy, medicine, engineering, and similar professions. States, academic institutions, and private accrediting associations have determined who may give diplomas, certificates, and degrees – and according to what standards. Skilled trades have their apprenticeship training schedules prerequisite to journeyman's status.

Career Education and Competency-Based Credentialism

Awarding credentials is not only as American as apple pie, it is as old as Methuselah and as ubiquitous as human settlement. And it is increasing. As the societal division of labor becomes more complex and traditional market mechanisms for the direct sensing of quality prove inadequate, socially controlled and widely accepted hallmarks of performance tend to proliferate. Witness the number and variety of academic degrees given each year. Witness the number of crafts and professions requiring special licensing or certification.

The best and most appropriate formal credentials are maintainers of standards and protectors of the public. Where a formal credentialing system does not exist (e.g., auto repair and television service), the public is bilked out of hundreds of millions of dollars a year for shoddy work. And yet aspects of the existing system of credentialing are pockmarked with abuse.

Some credentialing systems guarantee performance quality while promoting restrictive admissions practices into closed guilds. This can lead to high prices and sullen service to the consumer and to job discrimination against many qualified aspirants. Medicine and certain building trades come to mind.

Other credentialing systems set standards of academic completion that bear little or no relationship to real professional or occupational competence. Master's degrees for all high school teachers and a baccalaureate for a certificate in mortuary science are cases in point.

Still other credentialing systems guarantee either no performance competence at all, or a competence so fuzzy and ineffable as to defy rational appraisal. For example, many high schools give a "general education" diploma that has no career viability and affords little or no college preparation. Perhaps a third to a half of those receiving high school diplomas each year are competent in neither an occupational nor an academic sense. If they succeed in employment or in further study, it is because of some training or educational input provided outside of and beyond the high school course. Similarly, at the college level many associate and baccaluareate degree holders receive their degrees for serving time in a prescribed pattern of courses that may add up to minor intellectual titillations but provide really no coherent and refined capacity on the part of the student to cope, cogitate, construct, or create.

In short, in all too many cases credentialing systems have become captives of recalcitrant structures and anachronistic procedures that promote speciousness and/or anti-social consequences. Clearly, what is needed is a system that guarantees performance competencies while resisting the kinds of self-serving guild regulations that in fact become conspiracies in restraint of trade. All too many of our formal credentials today are unrelated to these desirable social goals.

It is clear from this brief review of the past and present that a substantial segment of the credentialing system is not competency based. It is, therefore, related to Career Education only in the most meretricious sense. Instead of producing skills for coping with "one's progress through life," all too many credentials are certificates of past conformity to archaic, bastardized, and hollow educational prescriptions.

What would happen if competency-based credentialism and Career Education, as defined, became central foci for America's educative system? How might the twin concepts reinforce each other? What emerging developments in American education seem to be supportive of both objectives?

Competency-based Credentialism

To begin with, we might ask what a system of competency-based credentialism might look like. How would it differ from much existing practice? Perhaps the quickest way into the essence of this issue is to distinguish between two declarative statements: "I can play the flute," and "I have taken a course in flute-playing," or "I can work problems in calculus," and "I took a course in calculus." A system based totally on competency would always seek to find ways of monitoring the first statement rather than the second. If such a system did in fact pervade all learning, Career Education would be a logical and necessary consequence.

Insofar as Career Education relates to job competency, for example, competency-based credentials would be the palpable distillates of the acid test. It would certify that the individual either had the specific skills necessary to do the job or the general skills that could easily be converted, with task-specific training, to job competency. In a world of what the British call "occupational redundancy" (i.e., machines replacing people), the more general skills may be even more important than specific skills. For as technology takes over one assembly line or ten accounting tasks, the displaced "general-skills-oriented" person has a far better chance of enjoying upward or lateral mobility than the "special-skills-oriented" person. The former would take less time to be trained for new skills.

Beyond its relevance for occupational mobility, competency-based credentialism can assist people in the more general aspects of their life styles. Competency-based credentials can assist in assuring people of their capacity to undertake rewarding avocational interests. The competency-based credential may be for something as precise as life saving (e.g., the Senior Life-Saving Badge of the American Red Cross) or for something as esoteric as musical composition (e.g., a certificate from the Julliard School of Music). In either case, a liberating self-image has been fostered; lifestyle options have been reinforced.

Personal skills (e.g., burden-bearing with grace and humor, conflict management, tact and forebearance in close quarters) are more difficult to cultivate through formal training than either job-related or avocational skills—although in many situations the three kinds of skills are indistinguishable. Yet various types of competency-based credentials in this subtle area are almost ubiquitous. They are to be found in letters of recommendation, in personnel rating sheets (e.g., "Does he get along well with others?" and "Is he a leader?"), in transcripts of extracurricular activity, and in titled positions held. The problem is one of a lack of common assumptions and a lack of a common language to be used in circulating common assumptions. But surely, ways can be found to develop more systematic (i.e., generally recognized and accepted) credentials for these kinds of essential skills.

It is my hunch that if Career Education were to become a major focus of all American education, far more attention would be given to creating a competency-based credentialing system. For without some organizing principle like Career Education, our educative systems tend to be formalistic, restrictive, and culturally precious on the one hand or narrowly vocational on the other.

Before turning to some of the emerging forces in our society that seem friendly to competency-based credentials for Career Education, it might be well to review some of the barriers that stand in the way of our stated goals. What are the existing locksteps that need breaking? What are the rigidities that need loosening?

Existing Rigidities

The first rigidity is the arbitrariness of existing academic credentialism. Between elementary school and graduate education only three credentialing points receive substantial acceptability; the high school diploma, the associate college degree, and the baccalaureate college degree. If one masters basic skills in high school, but fails for any reason to receive his high school diploma, he is barred from innumerable jobs. If one spends a year and a half, or 3 years and a half, in college but fails to win an associate degree or a baccalaureate degree, he is labeled a college dropout. All his life he will suffer the obloquies and denials meted out to those who do not run socially prescribed courses to their finish lines.

No matter that the interruptions may have been caused by factors beyond the individual's control; no matter that each year hundreds of thousands of lackadaisical youngsters receive credentials without truly earning them – social recognition is awarded almost exclusively to those with official paper credentials issued at arbitrarily prescribed academic tollgates. A quarter of those who enter the ninth grade in high school never receive the high school diploma. The attrition rate of 2-year colleges is 50 percent. Almost half of those who enter 4-year colleges drop out before graduation.

Not only do these figures represent an extraordinary amount of personal anguish and self-depreciation, they represent prodigious social costs. Henry Levin of Stanford has calculated the taxes and the national income lost to this

Nation as a result of the educational neglect of over 3,000,000 American men aged 25 to 34 who never completed high school. He computes the loss at $71 billion in taxes and $237 billion in national income. Levin also estimates the annual cost of welfare and crime associated with inadequate education at $6 billion. Not all of these costs are simply a function of unwon credentials, but too many of them are just that. By and large, there are no academically recognized way stations of accomplishment short of the high school diploma, the associate degree, or the baccalaureate degree.[1]

In a truly free educational system, universally accepted credentialism would be highly variegated. Fields and levels of accomplishment would be multiple and would be recognized by academically determined and governmentally monitored certificates and licenses. It is true that many skilled trades have developed training and apprenticeship programs leading to guild recognitions of this kind. But such recognitions tend to be job or trade-specific, and even where they could or should be, they are not relatable to the generally negotiable currency of traditional academic diplomas and degrees. Nowhere in the system are there instrumentalities for relating and interlarding the worlds of certificates and licenses on the one hand and diplomas and degrees on the other.

In consequence, we have invited invidious distinctions between long hairs and hard hats, between academics and nonacademics, between those who achieve prescribed standards of performance in a classroom or in an academic laboratory and those who achieve equal proficiency or understanding on the job. This creates inequities and artificial disparities in our Nation that are unfriendly to social harmony and inimical to the notion of quality-of-performance as the only rational basis for assigning academic, technical, or professional merit.

Points, Units, and Credit Hours

A second rigidity is the lockstep of points, units, and credit hours within the educational system itself. Requirements vary among states, but a typical high school diploma program requires three units of English, two units of mathematics, two units of science, two units of social studies, and six units of electives. Similarly, at the associate level in college, what is normally prescribed is a program of 60 semester-hour credits based on an estimate of a normal student load of 15 semester-hour credits per semester, or 10 semester-hour credits per quarter. At the 4-year college level, 120 semester-hour credits normally are required for a baccalaureate degree. At each of the three levels, a certain standard of excellence measured in terms of grades or "grade points" is required of all students who wish to earn their units or credits.

Whatever the historical justification for this rigid system of sanctification by numbers, it has led to a series of perversities that can only be labeled, to paraphrase the late Wallace Sayre, "the triumph of technique over purpose." Effectively uneducated students have been allowed to acquire credits and points on a time-served rather than on a knowledge-gained basis. Like performances receive dissimilar and nontransferable awards. For example, the successful completion of a practicum in sheet-metal working in a vocational high school may be worth one high school unit. A comparable performance in a technical college may be worth 6 semester-hours of college credit. A comparable performance by a sheet-metal worker who learned his trade through apprenticeship may be a milestone passed on the way to journeyman's status. Yet these three performances of equal quality, under disparate auspices, yield credentials that under existing arrangements are nontransferable.

It is true that some colleges have permitted advanced status to those students who have been able to demonstrate by record or examination that they have mastered certain subjects or fields. But until recently, advanced status did not mean earned college credit. The student was still expected to complete 120 hours for the baccalaureate, not 114 hours plus 6 hours of college credit earned by advanced performance.

Other perversities of the unit/credit/point system abound. Many high school students can earn most of their required units in less than 4 years. The 12th grade is in consequence a holding tank – a largely incentiveless year marked by students climbing the walls of their study halls. Even so, when these students enter a 2- or 4-year college, they often find the freshman year strangely repetitive of their last 2 years in high school. So a second year of boredom ensues. And taxpayers' dollars are wasted in both cases.

Frustration of Near Completion

Or take the issue of "near completion." A high school student earns 13 or 14 units toward his diploma. Because of illness or economic problems in his family, he drops out. In most areas of the country, no systems of counseling and no flexible learning arrangements allow him to complete the one or two units that stand between him and a generally recognized credential. A few may take advantage of the nationally available General Educational Development (GED) examinations, or the New York State High School equivalency examinations. But most believe that they must either return to high school during the day or forget about a high school diploma entirely.

The same kinds of rigidities exist at the college level. Academic credits tend to be tied umbilically to residency requirements. Many persons never complete a college degree because they find themselves in a position of not being able to return to residency at their former alma mater to complete the requirements needed for graduation. The academic requirements might be easily met *in* *absentia*, but the residency requirements become the conditions set by the college for accepting whatever academic credit has been earned.

Rigidity turns into rigor mortis when residency requirements are melded with distribution requirements. In most high schools and colleges, for understandable historical reasons, students are required to give evidence of academic work successfully completed in a number of divisions or fields of knowledge. These divisions or fields are frequently labeled, "science and math," "social science," and "the humanities." Two or three units, or 12 or 15 credit hours, may be required in each. If the letter of the distribution requirements is not met, many schools and colleges will deny a student his degree at graduation time.

The high school counterpart to college residency requirements is, of course, compulsory attendance. High school students in most states cannot leave school legally until they are 16 years of age; attendance is the condition of advancement, at least in theory. In practice, in some areas of the Nation, this straight jacket is becoming unravelled. Truancy, especially in America's large-city high schools, has reached staggering and effectively uncontrollable proportions. Pupils move up a grade in any case, for next year's pressure from below for last year's space is inexorable. In such cases, compulsory attendance becomes more a psychic irritant than a condition of academic advancement. In general, however, the fact remains that high school pupils cannot receive credit for units completed unless they are present and accounted for.

Compulsory-attendance laws aside, social pressures are enormous to pursue and complete educational requirements on the basis of uninterrupted sequences of K-12 followed immediately by 2 or 4 years of college. Dropping out or interlarding study with work or travel is too often viewed as a matter of laziness or dalliance.

Barriers to Lateral Transfer

At the collegiate level, a third barrier to educational freedom is to be found in lateral transfer. One might think that college-level work completed in one accredited institution of higher learning would be accepted automatically at face value by any other college or university. Alas, this is not so. Many 4-year colleges, for example, will not accept at full value credit transfers from 2-year colleges. Not all liberal arts colleges accept credits earned in technical colleges. Some of these rigidities are understandable and necessary exercises in the faculty prerogative of academic-standard maintenance. But all too often transfer rigidities are irrational, supercilious, and indefensible. It is the student who suffers – in terms of both time and money. Ultimately society suffers from the economic and social losses related to educational wastes of this sort.

Career Education and Competency-Based Credentialism

Some would argue that an unseen hand transforms the various structural and procedural rigidities of American education into a positive social good, that the system produces a necessary sorting of talents and motivations, and that barriers to educational freedom are the necessary price for the maintenance of educational quality and standards. Others would argue that we have too many, rather than too few, credentials and certificates in our society and that in terms of the job market we already have an over-educated citizenry.

It is argued, for example, that something like 80 percent of the jobs in our society can be performed by an average high school graduate with 3 weeks or less of training. Furthermore, if academic credentials were equitably achievable, would not vast morale problems emerge? For example, would not occupational and status expectations of degree holders rise without a commensurate growth in economic and social opportunity? Are there not too many Ph.D.s already? Are there not too many young people becoming, in the words of an old saw, "college-bred through a four-year loaf"?

Such lines of reasoning, however plausible on a superficial level, ignore three basic realities of the contemporary world: (a) the need for highly educated persons if we are to overcome the patent pathologies of our social disorders; (b) the need for individuals to cultivate inner resources to overcome the psychic emptiness and pervasive boredom of push-button affluence and TV passivity; and (c) the need to cultivate occupationally, professionally, and psychically adaptive persons who can learn and relearn with relative ease as society continues its knowledge explosion and its dervish dance of disruptive change.

If these needs are real, then society requires more people who have been educated, not fewer. It needs people capable of challenging assembly lines, not just people capable of working on them. It needs people richer on the inside than on the outside. It needs structures and incentives that will stimulate intellectual accomplishments, not inhibit them.

Promise of External Studies

The essential direction is clear: we must invent ways of opening up our educational system so that it is liberating, not restrictive; so that locksteps of time and place that presently shackle opportunity and personal growth can be broken; so that needed innovations in the form and content of contemporary education can be readily promoted.

It is a basic contention of this essay that a variety of social forces and technical developments are pushing American education in the direction of flexible space/flexible time/externally credentialed study that holds enormous promise for individuals and for society as a whole. External degrees, universities without walls, new-style correspondence programs, high school and college equivalency for life-experiences, semesters abroad, credit for service-connected courses – these and similar innovations are popping up like mushrooms after a spring rain. These developments are not without their risks, but at their best they can shake up the conscience and the structure of American education and can help to break the barriers of formalism and irrelevance that have been so destructive of both personal and social viability. And with these innovations in structure and logistics are coming substantial shifts, at least at the collegiate level, in the very idea of what constitutes an educated person – shifts in the direction of competency-based credentials for Career Education.

What Constitutes an Educated Person

As to what constitutes an educated person, the pervasive orthodoxy for a generation has been the Harvard General Education Report of 1939. In essence, the Harvard report proclaimed that a man could not be considered educated unless his studies had given him a judicious mixture of breadth and depth. Breadth was defined as at least a minimal exposure to the methods and findings of the three great divisions of liberal academic concern: the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences. Depth was defined as evidence of serious concentration in a major field or discipline. Distribution requirements were set for the first 2 years of college; major requirements for the last 2. This orthodoxy still dominates most institutions of higher education in the United States, just as the basic system of distributed Carnegie units dominates American secondary education.

But four somewhat different definitions of "an educated person" are beginning to emerge at both the collegiate and secondary levels.

The Problem-oriented Model

First is what might be designated the "problem-oriented" model. This is perhaps best typified by Edward Weidner's experiments at the Green Bay Campus of the University of Wisconsin. Under this formulation, an educated man becomes one who can put various fields of academic knowledge together for purposes of solving important professional, technological, or social problems. In one sense, this is not new. Undergraduate professional programs (e.g., business administration, education, nursing, engineering) have attempted various versions of this model for decades.

Weidner, however, is trying to interpret nonprofessional liberal studies in problem-solving terms. Liberally oriented curriculum options are organized to produce an educated person capable of wrestling with such multidisciplinary issues as health services, education, welfare, the environment, and the creation of a humanistic urban community. The educated person, according to this conception, is not a cultural dilettante who has taken 12 semester hours in each of three academic divisions; nor is he simply a disciplinary or professional expert. He is a compassionate utilitarian who knows the art of using social and technological machinery for the accomplishment of higher social purposes.

The Concentric-circle Model

A second emerging definition of an educated person may be described in terms of a "concentric-circle" model – or even a "flower-in-the-crannied-wall" model. Pioneered in a host of independent study and honors programs around the country, the "concentric-circle" model assumes that an educated man, to paraphrase Sir Richard Livingston, not only knows much about his field of specialization, but knows its ultimate place in the Universe: that is, he knows how his field of specialization relates to other areas and divisions of human knowledge and experience.

In the way of illustration, a master plumber who had understood physical theories of water pressure, levers, and valves; who had extended his interest in pipes to include the physical and musical principles underlying the trombone; or who had traced water in the faucet back to ecological issues of water conservation should be recognized and academically credentialed as "an educated person," whether or not he had met formal distribution requirements in some college catalog.

Self-directed Education

A third emerging definition of an educated person is, in some ways, a return to the world of Charles Eliot (or more accurately, a return to the caricature of the world of Charles Eliot), "an educated person" being one who has been allowed the privilege of selecting the combinations of intellectual and aesthetic fields in which he wishes to cultivate excellence. In these terms, the educated person is one who has been able to achieve Maslow's goal of "self-actualization" or Riesman's goal of "inner-directedness" in such a way as to convince academic accreditors of attained excellence regardless of how narrow, how broad, how structured, or how eclectic the course pursued. A variety of colleges across the Nation, partly in response to student restiveness about traditional curriculum options, recently have encouraged students to establish their own academic goals and to negotiate faculty approval of nontraditional academic pursuits.

Activity Options

Finally, a definition of an educated person has emerged that focuses on the ability of students to meld theory and practice, study and work, social philosophy and service, textbooks and travel, on-campus pursuits and career or avocational options. Pioneered a generation ago by Antioch and Delaware, stimulated recently by student charges of academic irrelevancy, a substantial number of activity options (often involving academic credit) have been provided by several colleges and universities as supplements to formal on-campus learning experiences in classrooms and academic laboratories.

All of these expansions of the concept of an educated person dovetail with the growing belief that education should be related to "one's progress through life," and should be validated by competency-based criteria.

Together with flexible-space, flexible-time, and technologically supported logistical systems facilitated by external-degree possibilities, "competency-based credentials for Career Education" can become increasingly realized in a society hungry for its promise.

Footnote

1. See *Costs to the Nation of Inadequate Education*, prepared for the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 1972).

Leon M. Lessinger is Dean of the College of Education at the University of South Carolina. His writing and teaching have focused on using modern management techniques to make schools responsive to individual needs as well as community concerns.

Dr. Lessinger's essay concerns accountability and humanism, two strong undercurrents that often are seen as opposing views of the schools' raison d'etre. The author sets out to demonstrate that both these opposites are actually essentials that must be dealt with as equally important thrusts. If Career Education means caring for the individual student and developing his unique talents, this goal can be realized if school leaders plan systematically. Dr. Lessinger outlines a sample State legislative act and a sample school board policy to show how Career Education can be carefully designed to be both humanistic and accountable.

Disciplined Caring for Career Education

Leon M. Lessinger

Two powerful themes—accountability and humanism—have emerged in the seventies. They offer a framework on which Career Education can be built and a platform from which it can flourish.

To view Career Education as a creative offspring of accountability and humanism, it is necessary to consider briefly each element and then to discuss their combined impact on Career Education.

Accountability

Accountability is a Biblical concept: we must answer for our stewardship on earth to God. It also is a classical concept in business and industry. There, accountability is expressed in terms of success in achieving profit. Starting in 1969 in the administration of the bilingual and dropout prevention titles of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, accountability in education came to mean (1) the continuing assessment of the educational achievement of pupils in a school system; (2) the relating of levels of achievement attained to the State's and community's educational goals and expectations, to the resources allocated to the schools, and to the techniques professionally employed for facilitating learning; and (3) the full dissemination of the findings and analysis to the parents, teachers, taxpayers, and citizens of the community.

The concept establishes as public policy three basic rights. First, each child has a right to be taught what he needs to know to take a productive and rewarding part in our society. Second, the taxpayer and his elected representatives have a right to know what educational results are produced by a given expenditure for education. And third, the schools have a right to draw on talent, enterprise, and technology from all sectors of society.

Present Lack of Educational Accountability

A supermarket is accountable for the produce it sells: if food is spoiled, the consumer may expect a refund. A corporation is accountable for its earnings record: if the record is poor, the shareholders may replace the management. A politician is accountable for his performance in office: if he has neglected his constituents' interests, his rival may be elected. Our public schools, however, are not really accountable to the public for the educational achievements of their pupils.

Kinds of Accountability Distinguished

Presently, schools are accountable to the public in two ways. First, they are accountable financially and accountable custodially; i.e., they must show that children are in safe, healthful, orderly surroundings.

Schools also are accountable to colleges and universities, for they must offer a specified college-preparatory curriculum; adhere strictly to the time limits for each course in the college-preparatory curriculum; grade on an A, B, C, D, F pattern to establish a grade-point average ranking in the college-preparatory pattern; and maintain a one point or less grade-point average differential between the high school marks on the college-preparatory curriculum and the grade-point average earned during the freshman year of college.

There are rewards for being accountable and penalties for failure. By being accountable to the colleges, closely supervised by the accrediting associations, and sanctioned by State and local policy (as well as public pressure), school leaders are rewarded by accreditation and admission of their students to higher education.

In terms of the total definition of accountability given above, however, schools are not presently accountable—they are not required to show that the tax money spent on education is translated into satisfactory educational results—i.e., a child equipped with basic skills and essential career knowledge.

Humanism

Humanism is a point of view. The humanist fears measurement, holding that the act of measuring necessarily restricts human potential, destroys the delicate quality of life, and is necessarily and inexorably dehumanizing.

Humanism is a concern for human progress and welfare. The sanctity of the human condition is held to be paramount. Humanists emphasize the affective side of the human condition by valuing feelings, playfulness, joy, the spontaneous unfolding of human potential, and the celebration of the state of being human.

The humanist is comfortable with and proclaims inspirational goals. The following five goals are representative of humanistic concern:

To enable students

1. to approach learning with confidence and joy;
2. to see themselves as worthwhile persons;
3. to develop and reassess personal values by involvement in diverse value systems;
4. to develop social skills including conciliation, persuasion, honest communication, and group decisionmaking;
5. to develop a sense of awe and wonder through the capacity for aesthetic appreciation and enjoyment.

A Marriage of Accountability and Humanism

Whereas humanism is best described as informal, unplanned, flexible, open, and joyful, accountability for results is best described as precise, planned, technological, managed, and scientific. How is it possible to contain such divergent views? Why is it necessary to make the attempt?

Several reasons have influenced the press by legislatures and boards for educational accountability. These include the fiscal crisis and awesome requirements for increased educational productivity; the development of modern management tools and strategies that offer the potential for both better leadership and better results; the disclosure that a considerable portion of the Nation's youth is failing to meet minimum standards of survival competence necessary for both citizenship and the world of work; the recognition that many youth are disenchanted with learning, have little knowledge or appreciation for work, and have little confidence or competence to secure gainful employment or to acquire additional learning. In addition, there is the fact that we still tolerate an educational system that:

1. separates general and vocational education;
2. considers vocational education inferior to general education;
3. does not give students in the vocational program the academic training necessary for entry into college; and
4. does not provide college-preparatory students necessary vocational experience.

There are at least six compelling reasons for a humanistic emphasis in education: the impersonality of many of the schools; the irrelevance to social reality of much of the curriculum; the unrelatedness of major aspects of the curriculum to the concerns of youth; the lack of responsiveness of the educational system to changes in the society and to individual needs for meaning in the face of those changes; the preoccupation with college preparation to the exclusion of other alternatives, coupled with an alienation of youth not in such a program or not interested in such a program; lackluster instruction replete with perfunctory explanations, boring assignments, and obsession with grading; the creation of a never-never land called "general education" where virtually half the students are plying a route that has little substance and no direction.

It is well known that the average citizen views college as *the* road to financial, social, and personal success. At present, the college-preparatory program enjoys such high status that students not in such a program tend to feel inferior. Furthermore, developments in improving the educational process for college-preparatory students stand in marked contrast to the lack of innovation in programs for the average student. It's not surprising, then, to learn that most students are vague about educational planning, uncommitted to learning, and uncertain about future goals and vocational opportunities.

This is hardly a condition to stir the heart of a humanist.

But, acknowledging the necessity for both accountability and humanism, how is it possible to marry such concepts? The secret may lie in the concept of educational complementarity and its derivative, disciplined caring.

Complementarity in Education

Complementarity is a fundamental challenge in science. Ideas are said to be complementary when each is a valid and necessary explanation of the same phenomenon, yet each is in some conflict with the other.

In physics the explanation of light as a wave phenomenon and as a quantum or straight-line phenomenon is a complementarity—though they are in conflict, both must be used to understand light. A similar situation exists in genetics where genes produce effects in concert different from those produced by a gene operating independently.

There are complementary notions in education. Individual differences and commonalities represent an educational complementarity. People differ on any reliable measurement, but people are all the same in their needs for security, esteem, and success. To deal with only one horn of a complementarity is to do injustice to the growth and flowering of learning. It is necessary to deal with the whole, though its parts are in dynamic tension, for this tension yields effects more productive than those produced separately.

The need in education is not to avoid conflict, even polarization, but to recognize such tension and even ambiguity as a genuine expression of the way things are and then to transform this heightened awareness into a powerful, positive synthesis. Whether an institution can confront and overcome its toughest problems or its deepest divisions through the process of dealing with its complementarities depends ultimately on its capacity to define its fundamental values and to find in them guides to action. Disciplined caring, which reflects our most fundamental values, can be that guide to action.

Leon M. Lessinger

Disciplined Caring

Disciplined caring, as the name suggests, revolves around the core of the humanists' concern: *caring*. Caring for persons, one for another, the more able and the less able serving each other, is the rock on which good education rests. Just yesterday, caring could be done person to person. Now most of it must be accomplished through an organization–sometimes large, usually complex, often bureaucratic and impersonal, and not always competent.

The *discipline* in disciplined caring is the concern of the accountabilist to build responsibility for caring for each person into the enterprise so that such responsibility cannot be avoided. Thus disciplined caring asks the educator to focus on the actual accomplishment of the goals and objectives that represent caring at its most significant point: the realization of the full potential of each person, especially those most in need–the powerless, the disadvantaged, and the less favored. And it asks that this be done in an open, verifiable way through an independent accomplishment audit and a concern with the full and optimal utilization of resources.

Disciplined caring can be realized through attention to three interrelated parts: personal commitment, professional responsibility, and system accountability.

Personal commitment is humanistic concern for each person–a "can do" mind-set to seek the best in people, to go the extra mile, to realize the full flowering of each human being, to avoid labeling, to develop talent, and to take each learner from where he is to where he might arrive.

Professional responsibility requires that each person who works in the organization knows and uses the best of the state of the art. It is conceded that a given learner, like a given patient under a doctor's care, may not succeed even in the hands of the professionally responsible. Yet the assurance of good practice and not malpractice is indispensible.

Finally, it is *system accountability* that brings to bear on the humanists' concerns the full fruition of the rigor of system thinking and managerial competence. Through disciplined caring the union of accountability and humanism can become a functioning reality. What form can this marriage take in Career Education and what benefits may be reasonably anticipated?

Disciplined Caring and Career Education

First, the practitioners of Career Education must be personally committed to synthesizing in some creative, dynamic whole the manpower definition of Career Education with its emphasis on economic roles, and a genuine, operational approach to the needs of each individual. It is only through this mind-set that we can discharge humane concern about individuals who lack preparation for a complex world.

Second, each practitioner must master, through demonstrated performance, the ability to plan and orchestrate training and educative and celebrative experiences. Training experiences are those that convey skills. Educative experiences yield creative and generalized insights, understandings, and attitudes. And celebrative experiences provide dignity and thanksgiving by helping each learner challenge the odds and overcome the risks of incompetence and inadequacy.

Finally, Career Education must be seen as a research-based system interrelating persons, methods, materials, time, and place. The system must produce the valued result of Career Education: job placement, job success, or successful entry into a next stage of preparation. When the actual results fall short of those intended, the system must have built-in, fail-safe provisions so that it redesigns itself objectively based on available feedback.

System accountability, the rigorous achievement of responsibility, is the culmination and the foundation of Career Education. If the students are not placed, or do not learn, or are not prepared to take a next step, the system is redesigned. Neither the students, the parents, the teachers, the economy, the suppliers, nor even the Government are blamed. All are accountable. Each has a part to play in a disciplined and caring way. It is the system's job to produce; if it does not, it is changed.

Federal Leadership

The Federal Government has pursued a long and impressive leadership role in vocational education. Through congressional acts and executive implementation, money has been made available both to encourage and to support vocational and technical programs. Recently, there has been virtual unanimity in renewed efforts to incorporate Career Education into the schools.

State Leadership

State leadership is vital in encouraging accountability for Career Education. The State often provides information, technical assistance, data analysis, dollar incentives, and policy declarations. Examples of State services in the first three categories include: dissemination of information; sponsorship of workshops; technical assistance in selecting assessment techniques, instruments, and auditors of accomplishment; technical assistance in managing constructive responses to accountability; data gathering and analysis to provide a picture of educational performance at the State level; and development capital to promote better practice. Among examples of the latter services are legislative declarations that mandate an accountability program, State board of education duties, State department of education duties, local district duties and reports.

Local Board Leadership

Consistent with State legislative acts, State board policy, and State department regulation and procedure, local boards must establish accountability policies for Career Education. Such policies should enable local schools to know exactly what they are responsible for, allocate resources to carry out the responsibilities, and provide a feedback system both to monitor implementation and to provide for the redesign and ultimate success of the policy.

Professional Leadership

Educators have the responsibility to promote Career Education at Federal, State, and local levels; to assist the media in telling the Career Education story; to inform their patrons; to reform professional training, accreditation, and school practice; and to carry out good practice.

[A sample legislative act and a model board policy, presented as a framework from which disciplined caring for Career Education can occur, follow]

A SAMPLE STATE LEGISLATIVE ACT

Subject: Educational Accountability for Career Education
Purpose: It is the purpose of this bill to encourage educational accountability for Career Education and to assist the local school district in obtaining the capability to become educationally accountable in this vital area.

Legislative Declaration

1. The general assembly hereby declares that the purpose of this article is to institute an accountability program in Career Education, to define and measure quality in Career Education, and to help the public schools achieve such quality.
2. The general assembly further declares that the educational accountability program developed under this article shall be designed to measure objectively the adequacy and efficiency of the Career Education program offered by the

public schools. The program should begin by developing broad goals and specific performance objectives for the educational process and by identifying the activities of schools that can advance students toward these goals and objectives. The program should then develop a means for evaluating the achievements and performance of students. It is the belief of the general assembly that in developing the assessment mechanism, the following minimum approaches should be explored:

a. Means for determining whether decisions affecting the educational process are advancing or impeding student achievement;
b. Appropriate testing procedures to provide relevant comparative data;
c. Role of the department of education in assisting school districts to strengthen their Career Education programs;
d. Reports to students, parents, boards of education, educators, and the general public on the educational performance of the schools in this area and data for the appraisal of such performance; and
e. Provision of information that could help school districts to increase their efficiency in using available financial resources.

State Board of Education - Duties

1. The State board of education shall develop a State Career Education accountability program that:
   a. Describes and provides for implementation a procedure for the continuous examination and improvement of the goals for Career Education in this State;
   b. Identifies performance objectives that will lead directly to the achievement of the stated goals;
   c. Adopts a procedure for determining the extent to which the local school districts accomplish their performance objectives. Evaluation instruments, including appropriate tests, shall be developed under the authority of this article to provide the evaluation required. Standardized tests, however, shall not be the sole means developed to provide such evaluation;
   d. Recommends a procedure and timetable for the establishment of local Career Education accountability programs.
2. The State board of education shall adopt rules and regulations for the implementation of this article.
3. There is hereby created an advisory committee to the State board of education that shall consist of members to be selected in the manner and for the terms provided in this subsection. The advisory committee shall assist the State board of education in performing its duties under this article.
4. The department of education shall make available to the advisory committee the data, facilities, and personnel necessary for it to perform its duties.

Local Accountability Programs

1. The board of education of each school district in the State shall adopt a plan for a local Career Education accountability program designed to measure the adequacy and efficiency of educational programs offered by the district. The board of education may sit as an educational accountability committee to implement the provisions of this section, or it may appoint a separate committee for this purpose. In either case, the board of education shall appoint a parent, a teacher, a student, a school administrator, and a property-holding taxpayer from the district to be members of the accountability committee.
2. The accountability committee of each district shall recommend goals and objectives to the board of education. The board may adopt its own goals and objectives for the district, but the district's plan for accountability shall be subject to approval of the State board of education.
3. The accountability committee of each district shall report not later than ________ of each year to taxpayers, students, educators, and parents in the district, and to the State board of education, on the extent to which the district has achieved its stated goals and objectives. The report also shall contain an evaluation of educational decisions made during the previous year that have affected school services and processes.
4. The State board of education shall assist the local board of education in the preparation of the district goals and objectives and the procedures for measuring school district performance in reaching those goals and objectives.

Reports

Not later than ________, and each year thereafter, the State board of education shall transmit to the general assembly a report of its activities in developing and administering the Career Education accountability program, including the progress of the State and the local school districts toward the achievement of their respective goals and objectives. The State board of education also shall recommend any legislation that the board deems necessary for the improvement of educational quality in this State.

State Department of Education – Services to Local Districts

The department of education shall provide assistance and support to local districts in carrying out a program for raising educational achievement and improving accountability in Career Education programs. Such assistance shall include:

a. Dissemination to the local district, by means of a newsletter—published no less often than bimonthly—and other occasional papers and resource materials, of information on current State and National developments in educational accountability theory and practice, including educational auditing and PPBES;
b. Sponsorship of workshops, seminars, and training sessions for superintendents, school directors, teachers, and the interested public on the subject of educational accountability and auditing;
c. Assistance to local districts in selecting or developing instruments and techniques for the effective measurement of educational achievement and in relating achievement levels to resources allocated and techniques employed. This assistance should be given in cooperation with professional organizations, colleges and universities, and the U.S. Office of Education;
d. Assistance to local districts in obtaining the services of qualified independent accomplishment-auditors;
e. Assistance to local districts in preparing PPBES and in obtaining the services of a firm or organization to participate in such activities where necessary;
f. Maintaining and correlating the aggregate assessment results from all elementary and secondary schools, which shall be made available by each school, and publishing annually such findings to help each school assess its own performance.

Effective Date

This act shall take effect ________.

Appropriation

In addition to any other appropriation, there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year beginning ________, to the department of education, the sum of ________, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the administration and implementation of this act.

Definitions

For the purposes of this act:

a. *Accountability* means the continuing assessment of the educational achievement of pupils in a school system in the Career Education area; the relating of levels of achievement attained to the local community's educational goals and expectations, to the resources allocated to the schools, and to the techniques professionally employed for facilitating learning; and the full dissemination of the findings and analysis to the parents, teachers, taxpayers and citizens of the community.

b. *Independent Accomplishment Auditor* means an individual or organization, independent of a school system, qualified to design, implement, analyze, and report on the extent to which the pupils of a school district are attaining the levels of educational achievement prescribed by the local community.

c. *PPBES* means a form of budgetmaking that allocates dollars around continuously evaluated planned programs.

The following Model Board Career Education Policy is adapted from the work of Dale Parnell, Oregon State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Oregon Board of Education.

MODEL BOARD CAREER EDUCATION POLICY

Policy

The board holds the schools responsible for providing every young person with the educational opportunities to enable him to develop to his full potential.

In the pursuit of this responsibility, the schools shall help the young people: to discover their individual interests and abilities, to explore the many avenues of work that might challenge and enlarge their individual talents, and to learn the wise exercise of freedom of choice, self-direction, self-discipline, and responsibility.

At the elementary level the major goals are to orient students to the world of work, with emphasis on the development of positive attitudes toward all occupations, and to identify students with problems and develop effective solutions to them.

At the secondary level the major goals are to assist all students to determine general career goals and lifestyles through orientation and exploration programs, to provide specific occupational training, to provide career counseling and guidance, and to provide placement services.

Guidance programs coordinated with the goals of Career Education, from the first grade through community college, are an integral part of the Career Education concept.

Articulation (joint planning, regular communication) is a necessary element between and among educational agencies responsible for career development.

Coordination of the overall Career Education program includes, but is not limited to:

a. Exploratory programs for students in grades seven through 10, involving a general introduction to a cluster of occupations;
b. Selection of tentative career cluster goals for study by students in grades 11 and 12; and
c. Advanced occupational preparation for community college students and those enrolled in other post-high school programs.

Policy Implementation

By ________, the superintendent shall transmit for board approval a comprehensive plan to implement this policy. The plan shall include:

a. Translation of the board's general goals into measurable objectives stated in performance terms;
b. Provisions for assuring that instruction is relevant to students' concerns so that students develop essential skills, knowledge, and attitudes for career success;
c. Opportunities for students to explore the career fields open to them;
d. Provision for guidance services consistent with the needs and purposes of the overall program emphasis and student assessment of personal interests, aptitudes, and abilities in making career and educational decisions;
e. Curriculum designs to prepare students to obtain entry-level employment in jobs not requiring advanced training or to continue education in post-high school institutions, business, and society;
f. Relationship to advanced training and community colleges, public and private programs, or business and industry;
g. Timetable for implementation;
h. Plan for formative and summative evaluation; and
i. Program budget.

After successful installation and the formative evaluation, the Career Education program shall be audited independently for purposes of review and redesign.

Conclusion

In a modern society, formal education stands directly between a person and his ability to support himself and his family. If the quality or the appropriateness of any child's formal education is poor, what might have been a roadway to opportunity remains a barrier. To fail to fulfill a responsibility in this respect means to render a large proportion of the future citizenry of this country economically obsolete.

Some aspects of this problem are receiving considerable attention—for example, the increased emphasis during the last few years on the culturally disadvantaged child. At best, however, such efforts have been largely sketchy and uncoordinated. There has been no systematic, comprehensive, and humane development of solutions to problems. Yet it is evident that the increasingly rapid growth of our technology and our expanding economy are going to accentuate educational problems and intensify the need for solutions.

The picture is not bleak. Considerable progress has been made in recent years to provide opportunities for youths and adults to train for employment, particularly in post-high school programs. Increasing attention also has been given to providing students with information about careers, jobs, and employment.

Many high schools have added to their occupational education offerings. In post-high school occupational education, progress has been rapid through the development of community colleges.

In listing Career Education among its current priorities, the U.S. Office of Education, National Institute of Education, and many State boards and departments of education have dedicated themselves to a revitalization of both general education and vocational training.

Through the marriage of both accountability and humanism in the form of disciplined caring, Career Education may yet achieve that most deeply prized American educational commitment: equal educational opportunity *and* an educational system that makes that opportunity productive for each child.

Hugh Calkins is a member of the Cleveland law firm of Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis. From 1969 to 1971 he was Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education.

Mr. Calkins' essay reflects his concern about the "brick wall" that separates vocational education from academic subjects in the high school. He traces the history of legislation related to vocational education to show that this barrier was erected on the principle that vocational courses should be funded separately from other courses of study–a principle he believes is faulty.

Mr. Calkins warns that "the fiscal structure for Career Education must not dictate its educational content." He suggests that a cost accounting approach to funding would allow Career Education to be based on student needs, not on unrelated fiscal policies. He recommends that decisions about financing Career Education be made after first determining what student Career Education needs are.

Breaking Down the Fiscal Barriers to Career Education

Hugh Calkins

Winston Churchill observed: "We build our cities, and our cities then build us." The same can be said about the fiscal structure of vocational education. We have built it, but it is molding vocational education to suit its own ends and not the educational requirements of many young people.

The argument advanced in this essay is not intended to be applicable to all students. There are some 14- to 16-year-olds who know they want a professional, business, or academic career. For these students, an opportunity to study college-preparatory courses undiluted by career concepts or practical applications may be advantageous. Other students at that early age conclude they want to pursue a particular career path that does not require a college education. Consequently, they need a valid high school curriculum that emphasizes the skills and knowledge required for their chosen career and that provides some background in English, social studies, and the arts. For both of these groups of students, our present vocational education system and the fiscal structure on which it rests may be well designed.

This essay is concerned with a different group: those boys and girls who at the ages of 14 to 16 are not ready to make a career choice. Many hope to go to college. Nearly all wish to keep their options open. They may decide to enter a profession, go into business, or teach; or they may tire of formal education before finishing college and decide to seek a job before they are 20. They may be aware that they have more interest in some fields than in others, but they are unready to commit themselves.

It is the thesis of this essay that this group of young people is large and that there is nothing unwise or extravagant in the posture of indecision in which these young people remain. It is my belief that although these young people ought to be well served by our educational system, they are not, and that the fiscal structure of vocational education has much to do with the fact that our educational system does not serve them well. Finally, it is my thesis that (1) important pressures, of a political and bureaucratic nature, explain why the financial structure of vocational education is what it is; and (2) a different financial structure, more conducive to improved education for the undecided student, must be designed to take these pressures into account.

The author is indebted to Clem Lausberg for assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Breaking Down the Fiscal Barriers to Career Education

What follows is a suggested financial structure that ought to be tried soon on a limited scale to see if it works. My suggestions are not original. They can be found in the 1970 and 1971 Reports of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, but they are stated here in more detail. Repetition will do no harm, since the Council's advice has yet to be acted on.

State and Local School Support

Since *Serrano v. Priest* was decided, the general nature of foundation programs in school finance has become familiar territory to many. However, to be sure we start on common ground, a brief summary is needed. Those who want a fuller discussion can find it elsewhere.[1]

Nearly all of the 50 States employ a "foundation" program to allocate funds among school districts. In the pattern that became prevalent during and following the 1920's, such a program for school finance starts with a State definition of a basic or minimum level of acceptable education. Often, this level is expressed in dollars per classroom unit. However, dollars per teacher or dollars per pupil also will serve. The basic or minimum dollar level generally is specified by the legislature. Frequently, more is provided for high school students or classroom units than for elementary students or units. In many cases, additional units, or additional dollars per unit, are provided to meet the extra costs of educating the handicapped or to encourage such particular activities as adult education, libraries, supervision, or training, or to cover the costs of transportation.

The local school district is required to levy property taxes at a specified millage toward the cost of this basic or minimum level of education. Sometimes the millage is mandated by the legislature; sometimes, with a nearly identical coercive effect, the availability of the State's subsidy is conditioned on this level of local taxation. In the case of most school districts, the mandated millage, multiplied by the local property tax base, will not provide as many dollars as the basic or minimum level promises. The State's subsidy makes up the difference.

On top of this provision for the basic or minimum foundation level program, many States make available to all school districts a flat grant, whether or not they qualify under the need formula described above. In some States this is simply a holdover from an earlier period when all State support was granted on a uniform basis according to classroom, pupil, or teacher units. In other States it persists because it is the only way big-city school districts can survive financially. Typically, these districts show up on the State schedules as being relatively rich. Their comparatively high tax base per pupil, however, is often illusory, since a much larger portion of that tax base must be used to support municipal services than is characteristically true in suburban and rural areas.[2]

School districts that desire a more expensive education than that provided by the basic or minimum program are permitted to pay for it themselves with local taxes. Obviously, this permits a wealthy district to provide a better than basic educational program with much less local effort than a poorer district. Coupled with the fact that in poor districts the dollars available from local and State sources often are insufficient to support an adequate program, this characteristic of the foundation programs justifiably has come under attack in recent litigation.

Fiscal Structure of Vocational Education

For many years it has been Federal policy to encourage vocational education. As far back as 1917, Congress determined that vocational education was more expensive than college-preparatory instruction. To encourage States and local school districts to establish vocational education courses, Congress provided money to the States if they would submit to the Office of Education an approved vocational education plan. This subsidy has been worked easily into the State foundation programs. Typically, it takes the form of an additional unit, or of additional dollars per unit, awarded for each approved vocational education classroom.

Smith-Hughes Act

Originally, Congress had specific ideas as to the kinds of vocational education it would subsidize. In 1917 when the first legislation—the Smith-Hughes Act—was adopted, only 16 percent of the 17-year-old population graduated from high school; only 6 percent of the 18- to 21-year-old population attended college. The vast majority of the youth went directly from school to employment. Thus when Congress passed its new program, the majority did not have college as an alternative under active consideration. It made sense to require, as Congress did, that the vocational education it subsidized be sufficiently intensive to equip the young person to hold a job.

Reflecting this philosophy, the Smith-Hughes Act specified that (1) the vocational education that the Federal Government subsidized had to be in "trade, home economics, and industrial subjects," or in "agriculture"; (2) "the controlling purpose of such education shall be to fit for useful employment"; and (3) such programs "shall require that at least half of the time of such instruction be given to practical work on a useful or productive basic to extend . . . not less than thirty hours per week."[3]

These requirements in turn were embodied in State law or regulations, in State plans, and in the practices of school districts throughout the country. State departments of education created directors of vocational education to administer the new funds; local school superintendents appointed local directors of education to apply for and administer the program; and the State and local vocational education officials related to each other and created their own professional association. In some places vocational education at the local level was conducted in an entirely separate school; in other places it was carried out in a separate wing of the school building, often built with Federal funds. The requirement that students enroll for not less than a specified number of hours per week served to draw a sharp line between students in the vocational education track and students in other curriculums. For 35 years vocational education developed in a world of its own.

As the years passed, vocational education proved to have value and rose in popularity. By the midfifties, Federal appropriations increased to $30 million; the States, required under Federal law to match Federal funds on a 50-50 basis, increased their appropriations even more rapidly, committing approximately $5 for each dollar invested by the Federal Government. By 1955, 37 States were providing special-purpose distributions for vocational education in their school foundation formulas.[4]

Vocational Education Act of 1963

About this time, doubts began to arise whether the rigidity of the Smith-Hughes formula made much sense in the postwar world. New careers had arisen. Retail trades, drafting, auto repair, medical services, hairdressing, and food services did not fit the traditional molds. Craft unions had lost ground to the industrial unions that had arisen since the depression. Accordingly, in the Vocational Education Act of 1963 Congress superimposed a broad, new authorization onto the occupational categories that had characterized prior law. In addition to the traditional categories, it defined vocational education to include all forms of instruction for occupations below the baccalaureate level and allowed the expenditure of funds for all kinds of persons needing such instruction.

The new freedom created by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 was not immediately exercised. An advisory council, chaired by Martin W. Essex, exhaustively surveyed vocational education in 1966-68. It found that "the number of students represented in the secondary school vocational education categories is negligible compared with the total population age group represented in the public school system that would profit from and needs occupational preparation." It cited a tendency to segment general and vocational education, so that each operates "largely in isolation from the other." It criticized a continuing emphasis on expanding conventional programs and a "failure to develop programs for students with special needs."[5]

Vocational Education Act of 1968

In response, Congress tried again. The Vocational Education Act of 1968 abolished the traditional occupational categories, relied solely on a broad definition of vocational education, authorized experimentation, and required an emphasis on the handicapped and disadvantaged.

The State and local response to the renewed message has been modest, to say the least. Vocational education is expanding, of course. While some of the expansion is due to a redefinition of its scope to include courses, such as typing, that earlier were excluded, much is real. In general, however, vocational education remains a separate part of the curriculum, walled off into a building or a wing of its own, taught by teachers whose sole allegiance is to the vocational education department, dominated by a philosophy that believes a student is cheated if he does not learn enough in vocational education to hold a job in the field in which he is trained.

Dispersion Concept

I am not an educator. My advocacy of the dispersion concept, therefore, must be viewed with the suspicion with which a layman's opinion on a professional subject should be received.

In my view, for many students the walling off of vocational education is educational nonsense. My experience with elementary and secondary education is in Cleveland, where I served on the school board for four years. Cleveland has been fortunate in having as its superintendent for the last seven years, Paul W. Briggs. He believes in vocational education conducted in comprehensive high schools. Cleveland, therefore, is ahead of many school districts in the variety and easy access of the vocational education it offers. This year, for example, it introduces, with financial assistance from the State, a vocational education curriculum that will offer mathematics and science taught in a fashion that qualifies both for State support *and* for recognition as mathematics and science by college admissions offices. Even in Cleveland, however, vocational education still is generally separated from the teaching of reading and writing.

Does this make sense? As I indicated earlier, the answer is *yes*—for *some* students. Many of those clearly bound for professional occupations and most of those certain that they are bound for a particular trade find such a system a satisfactory one. But what of the others?

Breaking Down the Fiscal Barriers to Career Education

Like other big-city school districts, Cleveland struggles to make school relevant for students who are not oriented to verbal subjects. Cleveland inner-city reading scores, like those of other inner-city areas, are behind the State average. Why, then, do Cleveland inner-city schools struggle to teach communications skills almost exclusively with reference to literature, social studies, and other courses appropriate for the college bound, rather than relating them to career subjects in which some students may be more interested? Wouldn't a manual on automobile repair teach reading to some students better than a short story? Apart from the relatively few courses in shop math, why are geometry, trigonometry, and arithmetic taught in classes that do not relate their usefulness to machine shop, carpentry, or drafting? Why don't typing students learn to spell as a part of their presecretarial course? Why is physics taught on the third floor at 10 a.m., and radio communications in the vocational wing at 2 p.m.?

One possible explanation is curricular cost. For example, if physics were taught in conjunction with radio communications plus being taught exclusively for the college bound, it would be necessary to have two physics courses in the curriculum. If this reduced class size, it would increase costs. Moreover, how does the undecided student determine which course to take? How does the physics teacher learn how to teach radio, and the radio teacher to teach physics? Most school districts only have a small budget for teacher training, but it will cost money to train teachers to teach both courses on the job. If the teachers learn through graduate work, it will still cost the school district more money because of the higher compensation to which the teachers' graduate degrees will entitle them.

These reasons, however, are not good ones. Most high schools are being built for 2,500 or more students; consequently, they are big enough to offer a variety of courses in every field. Training costs are not so large that they cannot be accommodated.

The Definition Is a Brick Wall

Given the growing national interest in Career Education, I believe that the diffusion concept would be carried out were it not for the real problem: the definition of vocational education is a brick wall separating the vocational and the college-preparatory curriculums.

The fundamental reason, I submit, why the diffusion concept is not generally practiced in the United States is that it will confuse the financing of vocational education. If spelling is taught in the typing class, is it considered vocational education? If so, it's entitled to the extra subsidy that the State offers for vocational education. If radio and physics are taught in the same room at the same time, is the class eligible for a subsidy? If radio equipment is installed in the physics classroom, or physics equipment in the radio classroom, will the portion of the cost of the building allocated to that classroom be paid for out of State or Federal funds?

Local districts are desperate for money. Under these circumstances, a superintendent cannot take chances with State support. A local newspaper story reporting that funds were denied for the new high school building or curriculum because the vocational education courses were found not to qualify under State requirements may be the difference between success and failure in the next bond issue or operating-levy election.

State administrators are not obtuse. They have a job to do with limited funds. The legislature appropriates only so much money for vocational education. If a lax definition of vocational education causes school districts to qualify for more units than were anticipated, the State budget is out of balance. Either additional funds must be found or all school districts must be prorated back. Political repercussions follow in either event.

In short, the definitional problem is inherent in the nature of the subsidy. When a curricular subject, like vocational education, receives a special subsidy from the State (encouraged and in part supported by the Federal Government) the definition of vocational education is bound to be a battle ground of conflicting pressures. A sharp brick wall, in both a physical and psychological sense, is a satisfactory means of deflecting the pressures and avoiding turmoil. It is the only satisfactory means known. Paradoxically, as Federal and State subsidies for vocational education are expanded (the Federal appropriation has multiplied 16-fold since 1955), and as financial pressures on local boards of education become more and more intense, the brick wall becomes more and more difficult to scale.

Suggested Solution

Substantial evidence suggests that properly conducted Career Education is more expensive than college-preparatory instruction. This is not true of all courses. Typing, for example, can be taught in sufficiently large groups to offset the equipment costs involved. In general, however, vocationally oriented instruction requires smaller classes, more space and equipment, closer supervision, more intensive counseling, and cooperative education and job placement. All of these require more funds.

The extra costs of vocational course offerings have recently been documented. The newly completed National Education Finance Project (NEFP) weighted vocational education at 1.8 as opposed to 1.4 for college-preparatory grades 10-12 instruction. At the postsecondary level, a statewide cost study by the Florida Division of Community Colleges revealed vocational offerings to be nearly one-third more expensive than regular academic courses.[6] Similar studies documented the same facts (Anderson 1966, Cage 1968, and Morsch 1969).

These data suggest that a financial rather than a curricular definition of vocational education could serve to define that portion of a high school program entitled to support from State and Federal vocational education funds. A school that might wish some students to combine its career programs and its reading, spelling, mathematics, and science instruction could certify how many students were enrolled in the programs and the additonal, vocationally related costs the programs imposed.

By additional costs I mean those incremental to the costs of college-preparatory instruction. The school district certificate could be required to be endorsed by a firm of certified public accountants. Achievement tests, showing what the enrolled students had learned regarding both career and basic skills, also should be required. On approval of the certificate, the school district would be entitled to reimbursement for a substantial part of the incremental costs, up to the maximum amounts per student established by the State. The maximum amounts might be higher for students needing substantial remedial attention.

Such an arrangement would not be instantly and universally popular. Some existing vocational education subsidy programs overcompensate school districts for the costs of vocational education. In effect, these State programs seek to expand vocational education by bribing school districts into including the vocational curriculum. School districts profiting from these overpayments may not want to undergo the cost analysis that the program I am suggesting entails.

Moreover, it is unclear whether my suggestions will be welcomed by vocational educators. Among the byproducts of the separateness of vocational education are job security, independence of action, and status for vocational educators. A diffused curriculum may give those who lack vocational credentials an opportunity to instruct vocational courses. It will require chairmen of vocational education departments to negotiate their curriculum with chairmen of mathematics and English departments. It may put the director of vocational education in a position not unlike the supervisor of secondary-school English. Many vocational educators will regard these as losses. I think it is likely that my suggestions will be ignored unless the responsible educational generalists—the school superintendents, the State superintendents of instruction, and the U.S. Commissioner of Education—insist that changes be made.

If we are serious about Career Education, we cannot tolerate the fiscal structure of Career Education dictating its educational content. We must decide how we want high school curriculums to be organized to be of maximum educational benefit to the many undecided students. Then we must establish a fiscal structure that will permit a beneficial curriculum to be employed for those students. Surely somewhere in the United States, school districts will be glad to substitute a rational cost-accounting basis for the prevailing arbitrary rules. If such school districts exist, if States would allow flexibility, and if the U.S. Office of Education would make it clear that such flexibility is permitted by Federal regulations, the large group of undecided students who would gain from a diffused Career Education curriculum would be the beneficiaries.

Footnotes

1. John E. Coons, William A. Clune, and Stephen D. Sugarman, *Private Wealth and Public Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1970), Chapter 2; Charles S. Benson, *The Cheerful Prospect* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1963), Chapter 6; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Public School Finance Programs 1968-69* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), Chapter 1.
2. U.S. Congress, Senate, *The Financial Aspects of Equality of Educational Opportunity*, prepared for the Select Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity by Joel S. Berke and John L. Callahan, 92d Congress, 1st Session, December 1971; see U.S., Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Central City-Suburban Fiscal Disparities in the 72 Largest Metropolitan Areas*, prepared by Seymour Sachs and John Callahan, January 1972.
3. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 39, p. 929.
4. U.S., Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Public School Finance Programs of the United States, 1957-58* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958), Tables 28 and 29.
5. U.S. Advisory Council on Vocational Education, *The Bridge Between Man and His Work*, 1968, pp. 109, 185.
6. U.S. National Commission for Support of Public Schools, *In Search of Equality: School Finance Revisited*, 1972, p. 30; see also James L. Wattenbarger, Bob N. Cage, and L.H. Arney, *The Community Junior College: Target Population, Program Costs and Cost Differentials*, NEFP Special Study No. 6 (Gainesville, Fla.: Institute of Higher Education, 1970).

A former Assistant to the Deputy U.S. Commissioner of Education, Donald E. Crawford is now Vice President for Academic Affairs at the College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn.

"Implications for Future Research" is intended to highlight the major themes developed by the contributors to *Essays on Career Education*. In reviewing the question of what Career Education is or should be, Dr. Crawford addresses the reservations as well as the commendations of his fellow essayists.

To stimulate further discussion, Dr. Crawford compiles a series of "fundamental questions" that are raised in the book. At the same time, he outlines practical research questions that might be examined in the settings provided by various Career Education models currently being examined across the country.

Implications for Future Research

Donald E. Crawford

As these essays suggest, the dialogue about what Career Education is or should be has only just begun. With the definition open-ended, there remains an opportunity to reconcile views that seem diverse but have much in common, and to enrich the basic concept through study and analysis. A careful consideration of what the authors have written in this book and of subsequent discussion can do much for the ultimate delineation of the Career Education concept.

Meanings of Career Education

There is some danger in leaving Career Education too generic in definition. James P. Spradley writes that "Career Education is a general and highly symbolic concept," and it is possible to read a wide variety of meanings into it. In his intriguing essay, Spradley develops two contrasting interpretations of Career Education that appear to be evolving among critics and supporters throughout the country: the one represents complimentary opinions expressed by *vocational enthusiasts* for their own purposes; the other embodies reservations held by *academic critics*.

This is not the place to paraphrase Spradley further, but whether or not we agree with his articulation of juxtaposed philosophies of education, his essay does much to point out some of the existing misconceptions about Career Education.

Much More Than Vocational Education

What most authors in this volume have argued for is expanding the concept of Career Education rather than construing the definition narrowly. Certainly there is agreement that Career Education is much more than vocational education. Sterling M. McMurrin, for example, concludes tentatively in the most inclusive statement of all that "Career Education is properly synonomous in meaning with *education*."

Indeed, despite the vocational enthusiasts' plea for respectability, there is a marked disinclination on the part of essayists to use the term *vocational* at all.

The word *vocation*, however, is regarded more favorably. McMurrin prefers the "depth and richness" the term originally implied while deploring the way it has come to be used.

Thomas F. Green discusses the historical meaning of *vocation* and traces the vulgarization of the idea of *vocation* through the use of the closely related term *job*. He warns that job came to be applied to activities that lack dignity and meaning in themselves. Green argues that for activity to have significance for a worker it must engage his human capacity for intelligence, judgement, and sense of craft.

On the assembly line, where work has been highly rationalized and compartmentalized and the end result of a man's labor is rarely seen, such prerequisites rarely are met. Coupled with the phenomena of "excessive rationalization of work," the demands of technological advances that rapidly render current training obsolete, and the attitude of academic critics, it is little wonder that vocational educators face an uphill struggle against relegation to second-class citizenship within the educational community.

Beyond a Single Phase

A highly important connotation of Career Education—in the view of several authors—is that it means more than merely a single phase of education or training in the life of an individual.

In his essay on competency-based credentialism, Stephen K. Bailey writes in terms of providing students with "coping skills" to enable them to handle the wide variety of future problems and complex situations that they will have to face. Bailey also challenges the assumption that the kind of learning that is needed will take place in the classroom alone. If we must make use of a credentialing system in our society, then Bailey insists we take into account "proven performance," rather than "formal classes attended, prescribed courses completed, or arbitrary amounts of time served in a particular learning role." For Bailey as well as others, Career Education implies lifelong learning, a process that will involve the acquisition of new skills and will require the capacity to adapt to new and changing circumstances.

Equally striking is Edmund W. Gordon's assertion that the advances made possible by technology may render work—in its commonly understood definition—obsolete. Gordon writes that the cybernetic era could "*eliminate* work as an essential human function." Consequently, Gordon urges that Career Education be developed in terms of "man's life span," including his "role as learner, producer, citizen, family member, consumer, and social-political being."

While Gus Tyler, a union executive, debunks as a myth the notion that work will disappear with technological advances, and McMurrin believes that "alienation from work is generally regarded as an aberration," both essayists agree with the inclusiveness of the kind of education Gordon argues for.

In his contribution, Norman Willard, Jr., a businessman, writes in a strikingly similar vein that "Career Education is regarded as encompassing the assistance of young men and women in the achievement of self-realization and self-fulfillment," and preparation for "a full and enriching life, not just a job."

An Integrated Approach

Fundamentally, what these authors have suggested is an integrated approach to all education. If it were possible to draw together a composite picture of the Career Education they describe, the prescription would include educating men and women to master communications skills; to solve important technological, professional, or social problems by relating fields of knowledge together; to gain better self-understanding; and, as Bailey puts it, to promote self-chosen "combinations of intellectual and aesthetic fields."

Likewise there is a cognizance of the utility of combining theory with practice. Ideally a student would gain general skills to enable him or her to adapt to a variety of work, plus the knowledge and aesthetic appreciation to enrich living; he or she would have the capacity to solve divergent problems, plus a notion of how to relate to and make use of leisure. Indeed, Gordon argues for no less than the development of sheer "intellectual power."

Another striking feature of the essayists' prescriptions is that Career Education would be a concept that encompasses several disciplines and combines intellectual development with occupational preparation. The strength of the proposed approach could serve to allay some of the concerns expressed by liberal arts educators who sense an occupational bias in Career Education and fear that greater career options for students would be achieved at the expense of intellectual and personal development.

On several occasions during his two years as U.S. Commissioner of Education and in his new position as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Assistant Secretary for Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., has argued that an integrated approach is fundamental to Career Education's theoretical structure.

In an address in Washington, D.C., on October 24, 1972, before the Association of American Universities, Marland noted:

> Where do we draw the line–why should we draw the line–between academic preparation and career preparation? How do we know to what extent the architecture major learns the principles of stress and structure in his physics and mathematics courses but derives his feeling for color and form from the study of Byzantine art? How would Bach have developed the magnificent intricacies of the fugue without a

> thorough knowledge of mathematics? As educators, our primary tool is the English language, which at least in my case has been my most specific Career Education credential. Yet I found that studying French did more to show me what holds English together and how to use it than any course I ever had in grammar and composition . . . . Those who view Career Education as a threat, or an incompatible theme, especially in higher education, seem to see the concept as a zero sum debate: we win, you lose, so to speak. I hold that Career Education adds to the sum of the education parts, and does not threaten established curricula. It seeks articulation with conventional offerings, giving them purpose and meaning at a time when young people are searching for purpose and meaning.[1]

In a later address to deans of arts and sciences colleges, entitled "Voices from the Real World," Dr. Marland further said:

> We fail our young people when we do not at least alert them to the potentialities in the marketplace for the training they have acquired in the academy. Moreover, I believe that dispensing this awareness is a legitimate objective of liberal arts and science education, which traditionally has provided for intellectual and personal fulfillment as well as the ad hoc and nonsystematic development of occupational competence and awareness for many people. I am convinced that students are considerably ahead of many professors and administrators in this regard. They *do* see academic and career preparation as complementary in their educational aspirations.[2]

In any attempt at synthesis, there is a risk of glib oversimplification, and it would not do to stress the continuity of thought in these essays without also taking into account the discordant notes. For example, in her persuasive essay Susan Margot Smith writes of the "trend of unfinished performance" among women who show early promise but seem to give up high aspirations as their education continues. Smith argues that the underachievement of women will not be corrected merely by suggesting a new form of education unless the designers of the plans for Career Education take into account our society's existing stereotypes–stereotypes that permeate much of our literature and textbooks–about the appropriate roles for women. Neither will underachievement be corrected unless alternate model roles such as the professional woman who is a doctor, lawyer, business executive, scientist, technician, or engineer are integrated substantively into the core curriculum.

While Gus Tyler reminds us–in dispatching several myths about workers–that women compose a rapidly growing component of the work force, it is still true that women are underrepresented, as are other minorities, in the important and highly skilled professions.

Perhaps, as Smith suggests, we need the opportunity that Career Education affords "to change the theme" for women in the seventies. Certainly K. Patricia Cross's data in *Beyond the Open Door* makes for a convincing argument that there is an urgent need to prepare for the large numbers of women students of high calibre who are not encouraged to make full use of their intelligence in secondary schools or to go on for a postsecondary education for the professions or for graduate study.

Preliminary Research

As one might expect in any "groundbreaking" effort, the contributors to this book have written several essays distinctly philosophical, polemical, or theoretical in character, dealing with timeless and universal themes about what Career Education—or what education generally—*is*. There is, indeed, the need for further thinking and writing at the level of philosophical analysis. However, at the same time there are other tasks that need to be done concurrently. Social scientists, for example, could perform a great service by testing these authors' underlying assumptions in a laboratory situation and articulating further propositions that could be supported or refuted by gathering empirical data on a systematic basis.

Spradley, an urban and cultural anthropologist, has suggested that we need to know the culture related to various patterns of work or of careers. The attention of the anthropologist to our schools themselves and to what students learn from the process informally also could yield rich insights.

A scholar with an interest in content analysis might examine the extent of sex stereotypic roles described in elementary and secondary school textbooks and in the supplemental literature in school libraries to gain some idea of the magnitude of the problem raised by Smith.

A challenging theoretical task for basic researchers in any discipline—perhaps even an essential step for further progress—might consist of constructing a paradigm of the concept of Career Education, suggesting its essential properties and its implications for the reform of schooling. The results of such an effort could stimulate scholars to deal with one or more aspects of the concept in especially great depth.

Fundamental Questions

To return for a moment to the "fundamental questions," some of the discontinuities that appear in these essays may not be susceptible to easy resolution.

Implications for Future Research

However, recognizing that oversight is possible, it may be useful to list a few significant ones to stimulate further discussion.

1. Whether the "work ethic" is a viable concept is mentioned in a variety of contexts. For example, McMurrin argues that the Puritan or work ethic "has probably had a larger impact on the style and strength of our social institutions and on the value structure and substance of our culture . . . than any other." Green, on the other hand, observes that many jobs do not provide people either with an adequate sense of self-identity or any satisfactory central life interest. In justice to Green who draws a careful distinction between "work" and "job"–with the former having far more significance than the latter–he believes that the alienation some laborers feel is from the institutions themselves, and the way jobs are structured, rather than the kind of work that fully engages their capacities.
2. Whether Career Education should equip a student with specific or general skills to gain employment, or whether intellectual development should receive the highest emphasis, is a moot question for some authors. Gordon asserts that work may no longer be central in the new social order, a factor that in his opinion "may reduce man's need for skill and greatly increase his need for mental facility." The challenge is to reconcile these needs in an integrated curriculum in the schools or in the other settings prescribed in models of Career Education.
3. Several authors, including McMurrin, Gordon, Green, Willard, and Spradley, to mention a few, stress the importance of educating for avocation and use of leisure, as much as for requisite and often narrow and highly specialized preparation for work and college entry. The growth of adult education and enrichment courses in high schools, community centers, colleges, and universities documents what seems to be a fundamental societal need.
4. Whether schooling can be successful or is closely enough related to the socio-economic milieu–or the "real world"–is questioned by Gus Tyler and by contributors who are educational practitioners. Underlying this issue are conflicting opinions about whether schools have the capacity to meet societal needs for technicians, workmen, managers, and professionals; whether the "job market" should structure education; whether the schools, colleges, and universities "are doing their job"; and whether they can have a fundamental impact on society at all or are just a reflection of it. John Grede argues that the community colleges are uniquely situated and better prepared to resolve this kind of discontinuity than other educational institutions. Both Bailey and Tyler write about the confusion between competence and qualification: competence is taken to mean the "ability to perform" while qualification means "academic accreditation." For Tyler there is no assurance that a candidate can perform a range of

duties simply because he or she has the academic credentials. Bailey agrees and would include proven performance, as well as academic preparation, in the credentialing process.

Practical Research Needs

While discussion ensues on the basic themes and problems inherent in these quite distinct approaches to the concept of Career Education, the various models of Career Education alluded to by Dr. Marland in his foreword provide pragmatic researchers with the laboratory settings in which to examine a host of practical research needs:

1. Career Education assumes the necessity for integrating a better understanding of "the world of work" in the elementary and secondary school curriculum. Where school-based models are being implemented, a researcher might ask the long term question of whether this reform—exposing a student to several work experiences—aids a student in preparing for specific work or for better career choices.
2. Teaching by nonacademic, but highly skilled, practitioners is recommended by Lola June May. Does the engagement of the practitioner as teacher promote the acquistion of job competence and enthusiasm on the part of those students who seem listless, bored, and entrapped in the general curriculum?
3. Dale Parnell, Thelma Daley, and Morris Shapiro urge improved advising and counseling systems, and it is assumed that much youth unemployment can be attributed to lack of information about viable options. Does schooling that incorporates better information on careers and the culture surrounding them and that provides a careful analysis of the abilities and aspirations of each student result in more appropriate career choices?
4. For any systematic analysis of the results of Career Education, it is essential to search for new methodologies or for ways in which to apply existing ones to make possible the collection of a variety of baseline data antecedent to more ambitious longitudinal studies.
5. Tasks for the developmentally oriented educational researcher include devising and refining (a) the teaching techniques and curriculum required for implementing Career Education in existing school systems, (b) ways to integrate the results of manpower studies into ongoing programs as Garth L. Mangum suggests, (c) new methods of guidance and counseling, (d) integration of the arts and sciences into the Career Education curriculum, and (e) designs for the appropriate training for teachers, both those prepared academically and those qualified by successful performance of careers.

Implications for Future Research

6. To contribute to theories of student growth and learning, the educator, sociologist, or social psychologist could well study the cognitive growth of students in various Career Education model settings and how to validate a student's progress in acceptable academic terms.
7. There are many opportunities for studies of cost-benefit analysis such as making assessments of the incentives required to involve employers in the process of Career Education and how to monitor effectively the changes in per pupil and other costs in the models of Career Education.

Conclusion

Where and how to conclude a critique of constructive criticism of other authors' work or a listing of future directions for scholars of Career Education is problematic. In a sense both tasks will remain incomplete until we see Career Education in application. However, we have the unique opportunity of participating in "a movement for reform." The challenge for scholars is to debate the merit of the components of the concepts of Career Education and to suggest improvements. Indeed, perhaps it is less important that Career Education itself succeed than that our educational system adapt to the complexity of preparing students to live in the latter stages of this century and the coming one. How well Career Education carries as a concept will depend not only on how well it is planned and engineered for application, but ultimately on the commitment of teachers and the response of students to its prescriptions.

Footnotes

1. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., "Crisis as Catalyst in Higher Education" (Delivered at the Association of American Universities, Washington, D.C., October 24, 1972).
2. Marland, "Voices from the Real World" (Delivered at the Council of the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Washington, D.C., November 10, 1972).

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Carolyn Buan

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